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Abraham Lincoln

By Duane Mowry

O LINCOLN! Great Lincoln, thy name is imperishable!
There are no words that can make thee greater than thou art
By virtue of the just but stern decree of History.
The thought of thee revives the recollection
Of the eventful past in which thou hast figured
So eloquently and so well.
Who can augment the great fame which is securely thine?
Who can lessen the public estimate of thy great and noble character?
To honor thee more than thou hast honored thyself
By force of noble and herculean deeds,
Would be a hopeless and a fruitless task.
The great American heart is ever loyal
And full of gratitude for the unselfishness
Of thy noble purposes! Thy fame will live and grow forever.
To thee, and to thee only, as the years speed by,
And announce the coming of thy hallowed day of birth,
Will we accord in accents unmistakable,
A loud, and fervant, and universal acclaim:
"All hail! proud son and advocate of human freedom;
"All hail! thou patriot of the purest type;
"Thy fame shall be young and green forever and for aye;
"O Lincoln! Great Lincoln! All Hail!"

The Example of Washington in New Jersey in the Revolution as a Living Force in Our National Life To-day

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PASSAIC VALLEY CHAPTER OF THE NEW JERSEY SOCIETY S. A. R., SUMMIT, N. J., JAN. 20th, 1916.

By JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B., Historian Empire State Society S. A. R.

I DEEM it a privilege to have lived in the last sixty years, for there has been no such wonderful period of progress in all recorded time; and the ten years that I spent in Morristown, New Jersey, I deem the most helpful of all, because there I was in close touch with the records of Washington while he had his headquarters in the Ford mansion. And it was there I found an object lesson which gave me a mental awakening and a knowledge of American history, all of which I turned to good account, when in 1889, I joined with a few other Jerseymen in organizing this patriotic society, which now has chapters in nearly every state of the Union.

Of all the events of this wonderful sixty years, the greatest is the present war in Europe, the most colossal of all the centuries, engaging over half the population of the globe, and in which the democratic ideas and fundamental principles of our western world—yes, even civilization itself—are threatened with destruction; and thus it is that we in America are confronted with a problem of the most vital national and international importance. For, as President Wilson has said, we are the "*Trustees of Civilization*"—yes, and the custodians of the ark of the covenant of human rights—of justice and liberty for the whole world. And, therefore, it is our first duty to defend it if attacked, as well as our homes and our honor as a nation.

In 1861, when on his way to be made President, Abraham Lincoln said, in a speech at Trenton:

"It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which *gave liberty,* not only to the people of this country, but, as they *hoped,* to *all the world* for *all future time.*"

And so it is that to-day we are forced, whether or no, in this crisis of world affairs, to possess ourselves not only of a *national spirit* but an *international mind,* and to realize the fact that the Allies, and heroic little Belgium and Serbia, are giving their lives for the principles upon which our republic was founded. No matter for what other reasons they were driven to war at the beginning, the fact remains that *upon their victory or defeat hangs* the ultimate fate of *democracy in the world* and even civilization itself. In this cyclonic upheaval, we cannot if we would be *self-centred, isolated,* or even neutral in spirit.

To those few who are now uselessly crying peace, and even "peace at any price," we may well reply: Suppose that in those fateful days at Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth—when America's independence was trembling in the balance—Washington, at the head of his half-fed, half-clothed army, had been asked to stop the contest, what would have been his answer? He would have replied, "No," and with indignation, just as did his commissioners to Lord Howe in 1776; just as the Allies are replying to the pacifists to-day.

Those were wonderful years in the history of New Jersey, as a colony and as a state. For then the question whether the sacred traditions of English freedom and equal rights, from Magna Charta down, should be preserved or lost, was awaiting an answer.

In 1776—two days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia—New Jersey's Legislature issued at Burlington its Declaration of Rights and a new Constitution; and thereafter, here, within a radius of fifty miles, was the strategic centre and headquarters of American resistance. By an army almost reduced to extremity, Philadelphia was saved, Pennsylvania protected, and an implacable enemy laid under the necessity of

quitting all thought of acting on the offensive in order to defend itself.

Of the great commander himself, says Gladstone: "*No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life*"; and it was in those fateful days in New Jersey—the darkest before the dawn—that the character of the man was most severely tried and his great attributes as a leader of men made manifest.

And 'tis his great example that should guide us to-day in our plannings to defend ourselves against any and all possible assaults, whether from enemies *across the sea or alien,* hierarchial and political powers, as well as hired emissaries within our own borders.

Washington said: "If we desire to avoid insult we must be able to repel it, and if we *desire to secure peace,* it must be known we are at all times *ready for war.* The rank due the United States among nations will be withheld, or absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness."

And furthermore, as to the enemies within, note the words of President Wilson: "The gravest threats against our peace and safety have been uttered within our borders, and property has been destroyed by 'hyphenated' citizens, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life."

Now, we compatriots of the S. A. R. hold as a fundamental truth that no man can be a true American who owes allegiance to any power, be it secular, or ecclesiastical, which claims *temporal superiority over his conscience and his obligations* to the *Constitution of the United States.* "America First!" is our watchward.

Mr. Hamilton Mabie, an author of rare talent and your distinguished fellow-citizen, gives us this virile word of counsel and warning: "Nobody *wants war, but* we *cannot tolerate national cowardice.*"

And to those who hold that we will be in no danger after this war is over, because no nation in Europe will be in shape to make any attack on us, I would say: these persons are ignoring historic precedents and even the history of our own country.

After the close of the Civil War we had able generals and a large body of veteran soldiers, and when Maxamilian, an Austrian prince, with the aid of French soldiers, was trying to make

himself emperor of Mexico, our demand upon France being backed by a veteran army under General Grant, compelled that country to abandon Mexico altogether. Also, in like manner, we compelled England to pay for the damage wrought to our commerce by the Alabama, and we forced Europe to respect the Monroe Doctrine when it was asserted for the protection of Mexico.

Without doubt, there would have been no war with Spain on Cuba's account if we had possessed an adequate army and navy, for in that case Spain would never have dared to oppose the United States.

Mr. Oliver in his book "Ordeal by Battle," says the war "might have been avoided if Britain had given heed to the numerous warnings coming from Germany and had been prepared. The war was not *inevitable* preordained or even biologically necessary."

I don't believe Germany will be victorious, but if she should be, can anyone here suppose she will be in no condition, if she is in the mood, to attempt to make larger that place in the sun which success on the continent will insure to her? The truth is that a German triumph will place the Monroe Doctrine in greater peril than at any other time since it was first formulated.

Now, as to the way we should prepare ourselves for peace with honor or war without dishonor. Our legislators are divided as to what is the best plan for raising the army to a proper State of efficiency. But most are agreed that we may do well to copy the Swiss system of a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms as by such means we would benefit the citizen and help to unify the interests of our forty-eight States and weld together the forty or more different nationalities that make what has been called an "*International* Colony of Transients."

The opponents of Secretary Garrison's plan of a Continental Army contend for a large regular army as a first line of defense, and that the national guard in the forty-eight States can be recruited more easily than can a hybrid half inactive body like the Continentals. On the other hand our Secretary of War says: "The one thing that has always prevented military progress has been these state systems. The militia always stands in the way, its officers saying that they wished to be the only body out-

side the Federal army. Now, if you put them on the Federal payroll—especially if, as suggested, you expand them to any such strength as the 400,000 which are necessary—you will simply be building up an organization that will oppose anything that will come between them and their Federal pay and will prevent any building up of a rational, effective military system of defence."

"From the earliest times all those who gave intelligent consideration of the question have advocated the continental army plan. The first Secretary of War, General Knox, submitted a plan of universal military training of a citizen army.

"In 1805 President Jefferson, in collaboration with this Secretary of War, General Dearborn, proposed a practically identical plan. His proposals failed in Congress because, as he wrote on April 27, 1806: 'A diversity of ideas, however, among the members, arising from partiality to local systems, defeated that.'

"After the humiliating and disastrous experiences of our land forces in the war of 1812, Jefferson, on September 9, 1814, speaking with respect to the inefficiency displayed in that war, wrote: 'Our people are too happy at home to enter into regular service, and we cannot be defended but by making every citizen a soldier.'

"This proves most forcibly," said Jefferson, the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier. This must be the case of every free state.

"Numerous similar proposals have proceeded from former Secretaries of War, and they have all failed because of a diversity of ideas among the members of Congress arising from partiality for local systems.

"The lesson is perfectly clear that until we entirely abandon the idea of relying upon the impossible system of state troops for national defence we can never build a system upon any foundation that will endure or that will stand the strain of war.

"It seems plain that we must classify all our male citizens of fitage and physique to serve as soldiers and make military instruction a regular part of our educational system, and we shall never feel safe as a nation until this is done."

The Resolution I sent to you in December last, and which you passed at your Board meeting, advocated the principle of *universal military service* by the *entire manhood* of the country as

an obligation of citizenship—either *personal service with the colors* on the part of *those physically fit,* as provided for in the Federal Constitution, or else by *financial contributions* from those unable to serve in person, to be Applicable solely to the military and naval services of the country.

When in Switzerland, I found that this system worked well; and the manhood service interfered but slightly with the occupations of the individual, say for only about *eleven days in the year;* and the annual cost to the people per man was $16.77, whereas here the cost for the up-keep of the soldier of the regular army is $1,-150—quite a difference.

As 850,000 men each year attain the age of 21 in the United States, with this Swiss system the country would each year secure 400,000 men with ninety days' training. The men drafted at 19 9would be free from military obligation at 25, and yet we would have an army sufficiently numerous and trained to be effective, and it would be entirely under federal control. Such a plan would secure what is sorely needed unity of responsibility and authority.

Admiral Peary goes even further and advocates the *installation of a system that would* enable *a state* as *much exposed as is New York,* or New Jersey, on *its own initiative* to place *half a million* trained *soldiers on her borders in forty-eight hours.*

"This permits," says the Admiral, "action at once, pending legislation by Congress for the nation, which must of necessity be slow, and admits and allows many of the more exposed and vitally interested states to begin educating and training their men immediately without waiting for the more apathetic states."

Prof. R. U. Johnston, of Harvard, favors this idea. He says:

"The fortification of the Jersey coast is now in contemplation by the Navy and War departments. Such fortifications would primarily be designed to protect Philadelphia and New York from a landing force, thus filling a gap in our coast defences that has long been a source of grave concern to American military experts.

"The details of the plan provide for the establishment of a submarine base at Barnegat Bay, an aviation base near Lakewood, the fortification of Sea Girt and another point between Barnegat

Bay and Cape May, and the construction of military highways parallel with the coast in these districts. These precautions dovetailing with the fortifications at Sandy Hook and Delaware Bay, would doubtless strengthen the defences of this city and New York and while not absolutely guaranteeing immunity from attack, would probably discourage an attacking force from attempting a landing within striking distance of either city."

"A year ago last August," Admiral Peary says, "Switzerland —a particularly peaceful, commercial, non-militaristic little republic, with an area about twice that of Massachusetts and a population about the same as that state, 4,000,000—at a sudden call placed 400,000 trained citizen-soldiers on her frontiers in forty-eight hours."

Even if the United States were never obliged to call its soldiers to the front, the benefits derived from this training and instruction would make of them better equipped citizens, both mentally and physically, he declares.

I was educated in a military school and know how greatly its discipline benefited me, and how, when at home in the summer from the Law School, this military instruction enabled me to drill scores of farmers' sons, so that they readily enlisted and went to the front to fight for the Union.

I hope the time is coming when we shall have military drill in all our public schools, colleges and universities. Some of these like my alma mater—Rutgers—and the universities of Cornell, of California and of Minnesota, are thus already equipped and find the system most beneficial to all the students. And Harvard is to have a definite course on military science and training.

And now another word about Washington as our guide to-day. In what I have so far said, you will note that I lay stress upon the attitude of mind that Washington had toward the people here and abroad, and his acumen and wisdom not only as to needs of the army, but equally so as to the navy.

Under date of "Morristown, April 17, 1780," Washington, in writing to the President of Congress on naval matters, says:

"*Considering the position of these states, a fleet is essential to our system of defense,* and the plan the enemy are now preparing of attacking *points remote from each other* will make *us* feel our

disadvantage in a striking manner, and may be fatal if our allies are not able to afford us naval succor."

Our need is just as great to-day as it was in 1779, when the British threatened us from their base of operations at Castine on Massachusetts Bay. And also, as to the attack on points remote from each other, we are reminded of the fact that, while our coast defenses are among the most formidable in the world, we are short, says the War Department, 530 officers and nearly 11,000 men, and there are batteries which cost $41,000,000 which are at present without trained personnel to man them. Also, mobile howitzer batteries of 16-inch guns, to be fired from railroad cars or motor-trucks, are needed.

In a memorandum given Lieut. Col. John Laurens on his starting from France, Washington says: "Next to a loan of money, a constant *naval superiority* on these coasts is the object most interesting. This would instantly reduce the enemy to a difficult *defensive,* and, by *removing* all prospects of extending their *acquisitions,* would *take away* the *motives* for *prosecuting* the *war.* Indeed, it is not to be conceived how they would subsist a large force in this country if we had the command of the seas."

As we re-read Washington's communications at this time to Congress and the French Admirals, our allies, we realize how completely he believed our ultimate success to depend on sea power. Six months later, de Grasse's fleet arrived in Lynn Haven Bay and the curtain rose on the last great act of the drama. Cornwallis was hemmed in and had to surrender, and the French fleet was the determining factor in giving us the victory. And to-day it is plain that British navalism has already proved its superior power over German militarism.

We are confronting to-day the most serious problem that has arisen in our country for half a century, for we have endured at the hands of the Central Empires of Europe, in the murdering of our innocent citizens on the high seas and criminal attacks upon our factories and shipping, injuries far greater and more wanton than were the acts of oppression in opposing which our thirteen feeble colonies did not hesitate to challenge the power of a great nation.

As I stand here I recall the times when, as President of the New

Jersey S. A. R., I spoke at Trenton, at Monmouth and at Springfield, of those crucial battles in the Revolution. How heroically our forefathers then fought for the principles for which men and women across the sea are now sacrificing all that they possess! I trust that our Legislators at Washington will follow their example.

In a very able summing up of the present situation a certain journalist says:

"From the morning of Lexington and Concord to the days before Santiago and in Manila Bay, America has meant something to the world. It has meant something more than an opportunity to make money, to live outside the hardships and restraints imposed upon other nations and people. It has meant to succeeding generations the promise and the purpose to stand squarely and unflinchingly for certain principles, to dare all, to brave all, to endure all, that things that were more than life, than comfort, than dollars, might endure in the world, and that *the great experiment in democracy* which we were making in the Western world might be an example and a service to all mankind.

"Because principles and ideals meant something to them beyond life, beyond ease and prosperity, the farmers rallied on Lexington Common, the men of all New England went to Bunker Hill, the men of the Thirteen Colonies endured the long strain of the Revolution and the terrible hardships of Valley Forge. One generation of Americans after another, succeeding to the honors and the estate of their fathers, has carried forward the tradition. They have fought at home and abroad, not to add provinces, not to impose the will of their country upon alien peoples, but that there might live at home and abroad those principles which were to them the meaning of their country.

"Our great-grandfathers fought that there might live in the Western Hemisphere that freedom which their ancestors had fought for and won on British fields. Our fathers fought that the great nation that had grown up beyond the Atlantic might continue, that it might endure unbroken and that within its borders there should be no human slavery. In our own time, thousands of Americans took up their arms that there might be an end

in Cuba to a tyranny beyond defense—an insult to all the things that America meant to the world and to Americans.

"Out of the struggle and the sacrifice of nearly a century and a half of common effort, out of the sufferings and the devotion of millions, there had grown up a vision and an ideal, something at once clear and indefinable, something that America meant to all of its own children, something that each of its sons and daughters was *resolved that it should mean* to the world, *something to which they dedicated* their *lives and their possessions,* a cause, a purpose and a national ideal."

And this ideal must and will be made a reality, for we have the *right* on our side, and when this holocaust of blood and slaughter is ended, we shall be strong enough to foster every good movement, which will tend to establish a world court of arbitration with an adequate and efficient force to back up and carry out its decisions.

To refer again to the matter of *military training* in our schools and colleges, Prof. W. E. Hocking, of Harvard University, says:

"Military training should be a logical part of college instruction. No man exists primarily for the sake of defending himself—he exists for the sake of doing things. The same is true of nations. Among the things which a man may be called on to do are the helping and protecting of others. We Americans have passed our national infancy; it is no longer our chief biological function to feed, fatten and protect ourselves.

"Unless we wish to invite national atrophy and decline, we must make up our minds to do a man's part in the hard work of the world. We are called upon and must be prepared to do our work in enforcing peace. And we must be able to speak and compel attention when questions of international law and common humanity are at stake.

"Military training is the other half of all education of character. Training of the will *must begin with control of the body,* and our universities have all but dropped the development of the will *by habit.*"

At Harvard University, already over 400 students have enlisted for the volunteer batallion, and the full quota was to be signed by December 3d; and then General Leonard Wood is to

have the men equipped and an officer assigned as drill-master. Three hours weekly will be given to military training, two for drill and one for lecture.

Talking on the military side of Cornell, President Schurman said Cornell had always paid attention to military training and now had a fine $300,000 armory, given by the state.

"We require all freshmen and sophomores to take military drill," he said. "It is our experience that drilling makes for accuracy, promptness and obedience, thus solving the question of the maintenance of discipline.

"Besides, this military training is a great patriotic service. It makes it possible, in case this country is attacked, when the last reserve, under any plan of defence, is a volunteer army, to turn out men qualified to serve as officers of the army."

The "Knickerbocker Grays" of New York, a drill class for boys organized in 1882, had a reunion lately at which the following declaration of policy was made public:

"The military drill has sometimes been criticized by peace advocates as tending to cultivate a warlike spirit. While the "Knickerbocker Grays" is in full sympathy with all policy which would eliminate war, it recognizes the value of developing in our youths that loyal spirit of patriotism which would defend and protect the native land, even at the expense of life.

"No other training has as yet equalled the military drill in inculcating habits of order, obedience, discipline, neatness, punctuality and self-control, or in developing a fine physique and manly carriage. The esprit de corps which has caused many of the boys to give up a cherished holiday in order not to lose the medal given for perfect attendance at drill is certainly of value in the formation of character; for faithfulness to duty is the most important attribute of the soldier and should be the badge of true manhood in every walk of life."

Prof. Johnston, an expert in these matters, says:

"The instruction at West Point will do well enough, subject to minor reforms. Even if Congress will not increase the army and give us more cadet schools of this type, the colleges can help. In many ways they can accomplish a good deal more than West Point can, though in the matter of inculcating military habits they

will doubtless fall a little short. The universities by employing a military instructor can cover such normal features of a course as drill, hygiene, topographical exercises and map problems; but to this they can add much advanced and specialized work in which West Point is not in a position to complete."

In this terrific struggle in the cause of civilization against German imperialism and the nightmare of *force* and "*Kultur,*" we of America are learning a lesson from the Allies in their trenches as to the matter of *discipline,* and of *unceasing resistance* against a common *enemy,* of *toil in silence* and of good humor in the face of a gunfire the most fearful ever known.

French, English and Russian seem to be *united* in a *deep-rooted* union, in which *lord and peasant,* priests and laymen, *workmen and masters,* conservatives and socialists, Catholic and Protestant, have *clasped hands in the same love* of the *Fatherland* and of human rights, having a single heart to act and to suffer and a single soul to hope. We may well profit by their example in our labors for preparedness, for peace or for war.

And as to the matter of peace and power to arbitrate, Dr. Talcott Williams, head of Columbia's School of Journalism, says:

"Only a world force can bring a world peace and enforce the jurisdiction of an international tribunal.

"The fool's paradise of an unprotected peace in which the United States though could live 'unharmed and unafraid' has had the flaming sword of battles placed at its gate, and, while the American nation can, if it choose, continue to live in it unarmed, it can no longer live in it unafraid.

"No such power as will emerge from this war has ever before existed. A United States armed and ready to act on new responsibilities and to play its part in the world's peace can turn the world toward some agreement for the joint enforcement of international law, neutralization and arbitration. An armed United States not ready to discharge its duty to the peace of humanity will be negligible in the new organization of Europe or become its prey."

One thing seems well assured by our Pan-American delegates, and that is: the *sovereignty of all our* 21 *republics* on this side

of the *Atlantic,* as well as the *Monroe Doctrine,* must and shall *remain inviolable.*

In conclusion, I believe you will all agree with that minister who declared that America was "at the Gateway of Destiny." And we must perform our part of national duties and responsibilities regardless of the possible cost.

"The world at this time needed a cross, and God has laid this cross upon the world. We are being purged by pain. Suffering, the beautiful mother of greatness, is brooding the race back to nobility, to unselfishness, to idealism, to real manhood. We alone of the greatest nations stand outside the struggle, but while we are not fighting with arms we are, nevertheless, in the war, and have been there since the first day. Our history, our principles, our professions are known to mankind as well as they are known to us. If we as a people live up to our history we shall win for ourselves a place of leadership among the nations; if, on the other hand, we temporize and shrink from accepting the burdens of our own greatness we shall be despised by the nations and shall lose our moral leadership, perhaps forever."

I am optimistic enough to believe we will comprehend the *larger meaning* of the age and unite to make our beloved nation what our great first President wished us to be: a *strong and virile protector* of the cause of *human justice and rights* and the *real servant and friend of all mankind.*

Resolution sent by Mr. Pumpelly to Passaic Chapter, N. J. S. A. R., and by them passed unanimously at meeting in December, 1915.

Whereas: One of the fundamental principles of the constitution of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution is to foster true patriotism, to maintain and extend the institution of American freedom and to carry out the purposes expressed in the preamble of the Constitution of our Country and the injunctions of Washington and therefore

Whereas: There exists today a serious unpreparedness in the Army and Navy and Sea Coast defences of our Country which constitutes a grave and critical danger to the life of the Nation and the best interest of world civilization and

Whereas: It is evident the cost of any sufficient force raised

on the present basis of enlistment and pay would tend to the financial exhaustion of the country, therefore

Resolved, That the members of the Passaic Valley Chapter New Jersey Society Sons of the American Revolution declare ourselves to be in favor of a citizenary trained in our schools, colleges and universities in Military Drill as in the system in Switzerland a democratic and peace loving Country and we advocate the principal of Universal Military service by the entire manhood of the country that is personal service with the colors by those physically fit or else by financial contributions from those unable to serve in person, to be applicable solely to the Military and Naval service of the country.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the executive committee of the New Jersey State Society S. A. R. and to such Federal officials and chairmen of committees in Congress as may be deemed best by the executive committee of this chapter.

SUMMIT, N. J., FEBRUARY 11th, 1916.

MR. J. C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B.,
131 East 23rd St., N. Y. City.

Dear Compatriot Pumpelly:—I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Resolutions passed by the Passaic Valley Chapter of the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and at the same time I am giving you below a brief historical sketch of the Chapter's existence.

Through the unceasing efforts of Compatriot's George V. Muchmore and Chester N. Jones, who were both members of the New Jersey State Society, a meeting was held in the Summit Y. M. C. A. building on the evening of May 4th, 1915, at which time the Passaic Valley Chapter was organized, with a Charter membership of thirty-five.

Past President John Lenord Merrill delivered a very able address at this meeting, both interesting and instructive to the member's.

On June 3rd, 1915, a meeting was held at the home of President George V. Muchmore to receive the Charter from the State Society.

The Presentation was made by President Washington Irving Lincoln Adams of the New Jersey State Society and President Muchmore responded and accepted the Charter for the Chapter.

Our deceased Compatriot Anthony Comstock presented the Chapter with a Gavil having some historical connection with the death of his Brother in the Civil War.

Professor Armstrong, State Historian, delivered a very inter-

esting address on the days of '76 and he was followed by officers and representatives from the various nearby Chapters.

Our First Annual Church Service was held in the Central Presbyterian Church of Summit on Sunday afternoon, June 20th, 1915, to commemorate the 135th anniversary of the Battle of Springfield, June 23rd, 1780.

After the invocation by Rev. Charles Bullard of Orange Chapter, Scripture Reading by Rev. J. Adams Oaks of the East Summit Methodist Episcopal Church and an address of welcome by Rev. Dr. William Force Whitaker, National Chaplain General, a Patriotic address was delivered by our Chaplain Rev. Minot Canfield Morgan in which Dr. Morgan rose to a heighth of great excellence, and made a lasting impression upon his Congregation.

Rev. Wilbur V. Mallalieu dismissed the services with prayer and benediction.

Since this the Passaic Valley Chapter has been steadily growing and at the present time we have a membership of Sixty-four, two of our member's having passed away since our organization.

We have had several meetings of the Chapter with addresses by Compatriots William P. Tuttle, Historian of the Morris County Chapter and John Randel Weeks, Secretary of the New Jersey State Society.

This was followed by what we termed, "Italian Night" at which time Professor John Danley Prince of Columbia University addressed an audience of over seventy-five Italians and Americans, this was delivered in Italian and proved a wonderful success.

We were fortunate in being able to have you address us at our last meeting and I assure you that everyone present enjoyed it immensely.

So, you may see that the Passaic Valley Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution is striving for an awakening of the public conscience along lines of civic righteousness and patriotic endeavor.

Sincerely and patriotically yours,
H. Donald Holmes.

Passaic Valley Chapter, S. A. R.

JERSEY LAND

(Sung to tune of Maryland, My Maryland.)

The rolling wave is on thy shore,
Jersey land, my Jersey land!
Aloft thine azured mountains soar,
Jersey land, my Jersey land!

Hill-top and vale, low-lying plain,
Thy pines, thy streams with murmuring strain,
These ne'er will let thy beauty wane,
  Jersey land, my Jersey land!

On fame's bright roll thy name is found,
  Jersey land, my Jersey land!
Thine every rood is hallowed ground,
  Jersey land, my Jersey land!
At Springfield, Trenton, Princeton's field,
On Monmouth's plain, with valor steeled,
Thy sons their lives for freedom sealed,
  Jersey land, my Jersey land!

Brave patriots hold thee near their hearts,
  Jersey land, my Jersey land!
Their gifts the sacred past imparts,
  Jersey land, my Jersey land!
Fair wisdom's son thou lov'st to call
From wayside shrine or college hall;
Thine altar fires bid welcome all,
  Jersey land, dear Jersey land!

—From patriotic poems of New Jersey.

An American Merchant Marine Our Greatest Economic Necessity

By F. G. R. Gordon.

The President in his message to Congress said:

"The great merchant fleet we once used to make us rich, that great body of sturdy sailors who used to carry our flag into every sea, we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resume our commercial independence on the seas."

The great European conflict has taught us the vast political and economic danger that we face because we lack an American merchant marine.

The greatest economic and political necessity of the American people today is the building, owning and sailing of sufficient American ships to do our own carrying trade.

More than a hundred years ago when our population was barely that of the State of Massachusetts, we were known all over the world as a maritime nation for we had since the beginning of the Constitution encouraged by legislation the building of ships. Way back in 1789 we passed a law allowing importers a discount of ten per cent. on all goods imported in American ships, and this meant ships that were entirely owned by American citizens. And the following year we passed another Act raising duties on imports by ten per cent. on all goods coming in foreign ships. These two acts gave to American shipping interests an advantage equal to a twenty per cent. tariff duty for all American ships engaged in the foreign carrying trade. This legislation so encouraged the building of American ships that by 1810 our ships were transporting ninety per cent. of our foreign commerce and in addition

to this were doing a large and increasing business for other nations.

By 1858 we were the second, if not the first maritime nation of all the world. Though the two advantageous laws of 1789 and '90 had been repealed by reason of reciprocity treaties with other nations, we had by legislative aid given our shipping such a start that we steadily went ahead on the road to financial success. Nor was it the war between the states that drove our ships from the seas. Beginning in the '50s England had been perfecting the building of iron ships and developing the wonderful marine engine. Still in 1860, out of more than 8,700,000 tons of American foreign commerce our ships carried 6,165,924 tons, this was just about sixty-six per cent. of the commerce going and coming. Out of this vast tonnage the Confederates had sunk or destroyed only 104,505 tons. Thus we see that the war between the states had very little to do with the destruction of the business of American shipping. With the great revolution in the building of ships of iron and later of steel, in which England led all the world, we found it impossible for our wooden ships to compete with iron and steel ships driven with the powerful marine engine. England at that time could build her iron ships at less than one-half the cost in any ship yard in America, and as Congress refused to give any encouragement to this industry we went from bad to worse.

Our people have not realized the enormous losses that we have sustained during the past fifty years. It is no exaggeration to state that our financial losses during the past half century will equal at least twenty-five billions of dollars when all the facts are accounted for. For some years now we have been paying to foreign ship owners the enormous sum of $300,000,000 a year for transporting the goods we bought and the goods we sold in our trade with foreign nations. But this is only a part of the loss, for more than $700,000,000 a year is lost to the trade and commerce of this nation by reason of our foolishness in refusing to build an American merchant marine that ought to be second to none in sea tonnage. In the year 1913 more than ninety-one per cent. of our foreign commerce was carried under a foreign flag. Our flag upon the high seas in that year was outranked by every other

maritime nation. In that year foreign ships, controlled by our competitors in trade for the markets of the world, carried to and from American ports, goods to the value of $3,695,330,222, or about ninety-one per cent. of the entire foreign commerce of the United States.

And for the ten years preceding 1914 we paid to foreign ship owners the vast sum of three billions of dollars for freighting our own goods into the markets of the world. This vast loss ought to stagger our statesmen, but it don't. Every nation but ours recognizes the tremendous advantage of having ships owned and manned by their own people, for the reason that it means a vast increase in foreign trade. A German captain and all the officials under him are bound by race, by education and by patriotism to do all in their power to increase the sale of German goods in the markets of the world wherever they may sail. Under right conditions American captains would do the very same thing for American made goods, thus enormously aiding to increase the sale of our products and in turn furnishing work and wages to thousands upon thousands of American workers, and again in turn, affording a larger unit of production and the consequent cheapening of the cost of production to the advantage of every consumer in this nation.

Out of a total of 38,501,702 tonnage of shipping that entered our sea ports in the year 1914, 33,628,349 were brought in foreign ships, this was for steam vessels. A grand total of 53,388,577 tons of shipping that entered our ports, for both sail and steam, only 13,730,075 were carried in American ships, and this proportion holds good for the out going tonnage.

In 1914 we bought goods in foreign markets to the value of $1,737,708,653 and of this foreign ships brought $1,538,784,987, leaving only $198,923,666 for our ships. We exported during that same year more than two billion dollars worth of goods and all but $156,436,090 were carried in foreign ships.

In 1913 there sailed in and out of five great sea ports of South America more than 20,000 ships and on only 33 of them flew the American flag! In some of the great ports of Europe and Asia the American flag is never seen unless it be on a battleship or private yacht. What would we do under these conditions if we were to engage in a foreign war? Is it not a national disgrace?

When our battleship fleet sailed around the world we were forced to carry coal in foreign ships to supply our own war ships! Think of such a disgrace and then ask yourself if you are willing to continue the disgrace for all time?

How Germany Secured a Foreign Trade of Five Billions.

It is interesting to know some of the reasons why Germany, a country less in size than the state of Texas, has attained her wonderful commerce of more than five billions of dollars annually. For this is the wonderful foreign trade that she enjoyed before the war. The great Hamburg-American Steamship Line has done more for the building of the German foreign commerce than any other agency. It is the largest single steam-ship corporation in the world and was built up by heavy subsidies, as has been most of the German shipping lines. Every German shipping concern engaged in foreign commerce is admonished to remember:

That in all expenses, always keep in mind to push the sale of German goods.

That when you buy foreign goods your own country is the poorer.

That in spending your money no one but Germany should profit.

Supply passenger and freight ships with German food, German machinery, German furniture; eat German food, wear German clothes, drink German beer, drink your tea and coffee sold by German merchants.

German products are the only products that loyal German citizens will use.

In the language of the small boy: "Can you beat it?"

Is it any wonder that with such teaching the German ships act as trade agents for German products?

Before the war Germany spent two million dollars a year to secure American passengers for trips to every part of the world.

And German ships not only made millions in transporting Americans but also in feeding and caring for them with German goods and German men. Under normal conditions the immigrant trade has paid a profit to foreign ship owners of more than $40,000,000 a year. An efficient American merchant marine sailing

to the ports of South America would increase our trade by more than fifty millions a year within five years and in ten to more than double that figure.

Seven Hundred Millions of Dollars a Year Lost in Trade and Manufacture.

Let us see how we lose $700,000,000 a year in trade and manufacture by our foolishness in refusing to establish American ships built, owned and sailed by Americans.

The finest ships in all the world are built for the American trade because it is the most profitable trade in all the world. A merchant ship lasts only about twenty years. Taking into consideration the normal growth of population and business, somebody will have to spend during the next twenty years the vast sum of fifteen billion dollars to build new ships, repair those built, etc., to take care of this growing American commerce upon the Seven Seas. That is to say: it will require an expenditure in the ship yards somewhere of $750,000,000 a year each year, for the next twenty years to take care of our foreign commerce. And this will require the labor of not less than half a million of men, mechanics mostly, whose wages will average not less than $1,000 a year. This means the putting into the channels of trade more than $500,000,000 each year to say nothing of the million dollars a day to be saved in freights and the thousands of sailors to feed and care for with American products.

Try to think of the enormous expansion of trade in our own country that would result from spending more than a billion dollars in our stores and shops that is sent to foreign countries? And also the great increase in the sale of goods to foreign nations?

Between Bath, Maine, and Newport News, Va., there are employed in the ship yards under normal conditions, such as we had in the year 1913, some 45,000 men, and their wages average not less than $1,000 per capital a year. Shall we increase this army of workers by a half million? Or shall we continue the economic crime of allowing the foreigner to reap a billion dollars each year that we might have and by every reason, economic, political and patriotic, belongs to us?

Every nation on earth but ours, that is engaged in shipping goods from their own ports, has encouraged the shipping industry by the expenditure of vast sums in one form or another, but in the last analysis all are subsidies, whether direct or indirect. Since 1840 England has paid to her merchant marine the vast sum of $240,000,000 or more. And to-day Britain and her colonies are spending ten million dollars a year to encourage her merchant marine. We spend nothing. In 1902 Great Britain increased her subsidy to the Cunard Line from $75,000 to $750,000 a year. She loaned that company $13,000,000 to build the great Lusitania and Mauretania. France is spending $8,500,000 a year and Germany directly and indirectly $5,000,000 a year, to encourage their merchant marine. Last year Japan spent $7,500,000 and she will spend much more from now on because she now almost monopolizes the commerce of the great Pacific because of our legislation of last year.

By the expenditure of ten million dollars a year for the next eight or ten years, we would save one hundred times that sum every year and perhaps two hundred times.

In addition to the more or less direct subsidies that most of the maritime nations pay to encourage shipping, nearly all pay large sums for mail contracts, or for navigation and construction bounties. Many subsidies are under the name of ocean mail contracts; and even in this service of transporting over-sea mail Uncle Sam actually aids our commercial rivals as the following table shows:

Paid for mail transportation.	Years.		
	1905.	1908.	1915.
American	$1,666,000	$1,467,000	$1,096,000
Foreign	2,555,000	2,695,000	2,850,000

We see that this year we will pay almost three times as much for the transportation of our mail to foreigners as to our own people. The merchant marine of the leading maritime nations of the world are a part of their respective navies, consequently, when we pay from $300,000 to $400,000 a year to the German merchant ships for carrying our mails, we are indirectly aiding the German navy,

and of course this is true of France, England, Japan, and so on.

Most of the maritime nations not only spend millions to encourage the growth of their merchant marine but they spend other millions to encourage the building of ships in their own ship yards. France for instance spends $2,500,000 a year for this purpose and Japan is spending nearly eight million dollars a year for this purpose right now and she knows why.

Wages for sailors in this country are three times as high as in any of the nations of Europe and they are about six times as high as those of Asia. And it costs on the average three times as much to care for our sailors as compared with those of foreign nations. This is due largely to our humane laws. We would not lower the standard of life in American ships. But anyone can see that if we are to compete with the low wage and the low standard of our competitors we must have legislation that will protect us from that open and free competition.

And whether we do this by a direct subsidy or by mail contracts, or by the laws of 1789 and 1790, and perhaps some of all three are the very things that we ought to do, it all amounts to a tax upon the American people to begin with. But it is a tax that will come back to us a thousand fold, and we catch a glimmer of all this in our wonderful domestic sea-born commerce coast-wise and upon the Great Lakes. No ship flying a foreign flag is permitted to engage in the transportation from one American port to another of either freight or passengers. And this kind of protection has built up a magnificent merchant marine along our coasts and upon the Great Lakes.

It is an exclusive American business and it is the most exclusive business of large proportions to be found in all the world. It is done by Americans, in ships that are built and manned by Americans. Protected as it is by laws that absolutely exclude all our rivals, yet, this trade is the most satisfactory to the shippers in all the world because it gives the best service at the cheapest price in all the world. And what is of equal importance it pays the highest wages in all the world for like employment.

The men who man these ships, the men who load and unload them in our ports, are the best paid labor in the world, and yet, the cost per ton for freight transportation is the cheapest in the

world. That is what absolute protection has done for that great American industry. It is the wonder of the shipping world and yet, some men actually propose to destroy this business by opening it to the competition of our rivals!

Here is a vast business performed by Americans for Americans, under government protection from foreign competition by laws that are never violated and a vast business that is done better and cheaper than any similar business in all the world; done better and cheaper than upon the Seven Seas where ocean traffic is carried on under free trade conditions and with less than half the wages. The commerce upon the Great Lakes saves the American people the vast sum of $250,000,000 a year over the cheap rail rates, notwithstanding the fact that the American railroads carry freight cheaper than any other railways in the world.

With these facts before us shall we legislate for America or for Europe and Asia? Shall we continue to play into the hands of our commercial rivals or shall we play the game for our own people?

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

No. V

THE COUNCIL OF TWELVE AND THE JUDICIARY

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

NO history of Halifax could properly be written that did not treat at some length of the governmental and judicial institutions of Nova Scotia, that had and continue to have their source and fountain head in the capital of the province, and that did not give some account of the Halifax men who brought these institutions into being. In the first of our present series of sketches we have shown that almost immediately after he reached Chebucto, Governor Cornwallis chose a Council of twelve members, whom he associated with himself in the government of the new colony to which he had been sent. This Council, which has passed into history conspicuously as the "Old Council of Twelve," had a long and varied history, the first check to the oligarchical power it exercised being the creation of a Representative Assembly, whose very existence its members frequently felt to be an impertinence, and from whose jurisdiction it persistently withheld all the governmental interests of the province it could.

In this Council were vested legislative, executive, and often judicial functions. Its members, who by common custom were styled "honourable," sat with closed doors, and in the order of precedence early established took rank next to the Governor, while at the chief executive's death or in his absence from the province, the eldest of them as president for the time being administered the government. To the Executive this body stood in

nearly the same relation as the Privy Council in Great Britain stands to the sovereign. In its legislative capacity it sometimes deliberated as a distinct body apart from the executive, but as a privy council it was always convened by the governor, who was present at its deliberations. "Dissimilar," says Judge Haliburton in 1832, "as this body is in many important particulars to the House of Lords, any nearer approach to the original appears from the state of the country to be very difficult." "Mr. Pitt," he adds, "seems to have entertained the idea of creating an order of hereditary nobility in Canada, for the purpose of assimilating the condition of that province as nearly as possible to Great Britain."

In the creation of a House of Assembly the power of the Council of course received a considerable check; but this body still continued to exercise almost absolute sway over the affairs of the province, appointing the magistrates, who were thus the creatures of its will, and often vetoing the most serious and best considered measures of the Assembly, the people at large being left wholly without redress. The laws of Nova Scotia explicitly recognized all forms of religion save Roman Catholicism as having a right to exist in the province, but the members of the Council for the most part distinctly favored the Church of England, and when at last Nova Scotia was erected into the first Colonial Anglican See, the bishop also became a member of the Council, his appointment henceforth giving the body a closer interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of the province, and naturally leading it to throw its influence almost entirely on the side of the church of England and against "dissent." With an intelligent and steadily growing population, the opinions of four-fifths of whom were not represented in the Council, and who were properly growing more and more jealous of their rights, it was impossible that sooner or later there should not come a stout conflict between these two branches of the legislature. Between 1830 and 1840, such a strife did come, but it was not by any means confined to this province, the governments of both Upper and Lower Canada were constructed similarly to that of the Maritime Provinces, and in all the provinces the people discovered that they had the same causes of discontent. In Upper Canada, as early as 1820, it was publicly charged

that the council was averse to every liberal measure, and that its policy was selfish and narrow throughout. Its members were reproached as "land-grabbers," bigots, and the enemies of public schools; and fierce complaints were made that the people were prohibited by law from meeting to talk over their grievances and frame petitions for the redress of their wrongs. Nor did the Canadian people complain only of the councils and their direct acts. The magistrates throughout the country districts in all the provinces were responsible to no one but the councils, and everywhere, it was charged, neglect, mismanagement, and corruption were clearly to be seen.

Regarding the Nova Scotia Council in the year 1762, Mr. Murdoch says: "It may not be amiss to notice, that although it was given as the opinion of the crown lawyers in England that the Governor and Council had not a right to the legislative powers they had for some time exercised, and that although an Assembly had now been constituted for four years to supply this constitutional defect, yet the Governor and Council continued on many occasions to dispose of the moneys raised under the ordinances of earlier dates, without seeking the concurrence of the representative body. It will be seen by and by that at subsequent periods larger funds still were virtually appropriated and disposed of by the Council without any reference to the House. These being duties collected under acts for the regulation of trade by the English parliament, were in point of form controlled entirely by the English authorities, but in effect the opinion and recommendation of the Governor and Council were almost invariably adopted and sanctioned in such matters. The consequence was that the influence and standing of the Assembly was diminished and rendered insignificant, as that body had but a very small revenue under its control, while the Council had not only much public money to give away, but held all the best local offices themselves, and exercised the almost exclusive patronage of all others, whether of honor or emolument. This anomalous and unconstitutional state of things endured far into the present century." Later, speaking of a conflict between the two branches of the legislature in 1808, Mr. Murdoch says: "The error of all the old colonial constitutions, which combined in one small body of men

all kinds of offices and powers, some quite incompatible with others, was at the bottom of the mischief. The same men were a Privy and a Cabinet Council and a House of Lords. They also held most of the executive and judicial offices, and their tenure of all these functions was practically for life; also, on a vacancy in their number by death or removal they had it much in their own hands to nominate the person to fill it. Thus a distinct oligarchy was established. How could they help undervaluing the men sent for a short period as deputies to the Assembly, who had little influence as individuals except in the immediate locality of their homes! How could they brook being opposed, censured, or called to account, by parties comparatively so humble!"

The first open break between the Governor and Council and the House of Assembly, in Nova Scotia, occurred at the close of the elections in 1799. Hitherto the representation of Halifax, the metropolitan county, had been held by residents of the city of Halifax; in this election the city candidate, Mr. Michael Wallace, a man of high social standing, was opposed by a Hants County man, Mr. William Cottnam Tonge, a gentleman of excellent education and of well known liberal sentiments, who had already by his ability and eloquence made himself a power in the House. When the returns were counted, Mr. Wallace was found to be defeated by Mr. Tonge by several hundred majority, but it being shown that Mr. Tonge had not sufficient real estate in the county to qualify him as a member, upon a petition he was unseated for Halifax and relegated to his return for Newport, for which township also he had been elected. In the previous session of the House Mr. Tonge had been chosen speaker, now when he was again presented for this office Governor Wentworth's strong Tory prejudices and hatred of liberal sentiments led him to exercise the prerogative, long unused in Great Britain and entirely without precedent in Nova Scotia, of vetoing the choice of the Assembly, and commanding the House to choose another speaker. From Sir John's arbitrary decision there was no appeal, and the House most unwillingly retired, to elect presently to the speakership Mr. Lewis Morris Wilkins, a son of Dr. Isaac Wilkins, the old Westchester Tory lawyer and clergyman, who about 1798 had returned from Nova Scotia to his native land.

As may be supposed, the temper of the Assembly was not materially improved by this high-handed act of the executive, and there was besides at the time another cause of discontent in the minds of the people and the people's representatives. Soon after the erection of Nova Scotia into the first Colonial Diocese of the Church of England, an exclusive and narrow charter had been secured for a Church College at Windsor, for the education of such Nova Scotia students as were in a position to take a college course. The restrictions of the statutes of this college were an outrage on the intelligent people of the province, four-fifths of whom were not adherents of the Church of England and had not the the slightest idea of ever becoming so. In 1805, the Rev. Mr. McCulloch, an able young Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, well known through a long and busy life in Nova Scotia as the Rev. Dr. McCulloch, conceived the idea of founding an academy at Pictou, that should be open to the whole province without any restriction of creed. For this purpose an appeal for funds was made to the legislature, in the popular branch of which it naturally met with a cordial response. In the Council, however, it was bitterly opposed and for fifteen long years this opposition was vigorously kept up. At last, however, the Home Government was obliged to step in and administer to the Council a stinging rebuke, and the body thereupon yielded through fear what it had so long refused on the ground of justice and right.

During this protracted struggle some of the best speeches of the House of Assembly were made in favor of the undenominational academy, and in its progress the people and the people's party learned not only to understand but boldly to claim their inalienable rights. The men who, as representatives of the people, may be named as constituting the earliest nucleus of the liberal party in Nova Scotia, besides Mr. Tonge, were Samuel George William Archibald, Edward Mortimer, Simon Bradstreet Robie, and William Lawson, but as time went on other notable men became its champions and friends.

In the ten years between 1830 and 1840, popular feeling in all the provinces of what is now the Dominion of Canada ran very high. In Ontario, which had been settled chiefly by Loyalists, a life and death struggle went on between the two branches of the

legislature, which was made still more bitter by the controversy over the Clergy Reserve Fund, the Loyalists generally having a bigoted attachment to the English Church. In Quebec large and excited meetings were held, the young French Canadians banding themselves into societies called "Sons of Liberty," whose aim was to limit the Council's prerogative and extend the people's power. At last the struggle passed into the rebellion of 1837, which culminated in the attempt of the liberals to seize Toronto, and the fierce engagements of St. Denis, St. Charles, and Bois Blanc. In the Maritime provinces the opposition, though not conducted with outward violence, as we have said, was no less persistent and strong.

In 1836 Sir Colin Campbell was governor of Nova Scotia. He was a stern, arbitrary soldier, accustomed to command, unused to argue, and so very poorly fitted to govern a province where such a fire of popular discontent had already begun to burn. His sympathies were naturally with the Council and against the people, and under his administration things rapidly got worse and worse. At this juncture, in 1837, the Honourable Joseph Howe was elected to the House of Assembly, and his commanding abilities, his utterly fearless championship of all liberal measures, and the determined scorn with which he treated the prerogatives of the Council raised him at once to a position of eminence in the politics of the province such as no party leader before his time had ever had.[1]

Mr. Howe's actual leadership of the liberal party in Nova Scotia began with the publication in his newspaper the *Nova Scotian* of an article charging the magistrates of Halifax with gross corruption and neglect of duty. Being prosecuted for libel

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1. The Hon. Joseph Howe, Nova Scotia's ablest statesman, was the son of the Loyalist, John Howe, of Boston, who before the Revolution was editor with Mrs. Draper of the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter*. Coming with Howe's fleet in 1776, John Howe settled permanently in Halifax, where in 1781 he established the *Halifax Journal* and became King's Printer. He died in 1835, in his 82d year. His other sons besides Hon. Joseph Howe were William, who was Assistant Commissary General at Halifax, John, Jr., who became King's Printer and Deputy Post-Master General, and David, who published a newspaper at St. Andrews, New Brunswick.

A very important biography of Hon. Joseph Howe was published by the Hon. Mr. Justice James Wilberforce Longley, D. C. L., of the Supreme Bench of Nova Scotia, in 1906, in a series known as "Makers of Canada." Morang and Co., Toronto; pp. 307.

he ably conducted his own defence, and on his triumphant acquittal by the jury at once proceeded to attack still further the venerable abuses in the government. In a short time he boldly arraigned the Council itself, and for many years, even after responsible government was secured, continued eloquently and ably to fight for reform and to advocate progressive measures, as against the party of ancient privilege, who nowhere believe that "the voice of the people is the will of God." From this time, on all popular questions, whether national or local, questions of the reconstruction of government, the opening of mines, the building of railways, education, the tariff, confederation, Mr. Howe was the acknowledged leader of the people's party, and his views the conservatives found it hard to combat. Unless it be the late Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., whose statesmanship was undoubtedly of a very high order and whose political career was exceptionally able, no Nova Scotian has so distinguished himself in political life as the Honourable Joseph Howe.

In the session of 1837, the Assembly, led by Mr. Howe, formulated an address to the throne, in which with many professions of loyalty to the Supreme Authority, its members stated the grievances of the colony they represented and proposed a remedy. In the infancy of this colony, they said, its whole government was necessarily vested in a Governor and Council; and even after a Representative Assembly was granted, the practice of choosing members of Council almost exclusively from the heads of departments, and from among persons resident in the capital, had been still pursued. With a single exception, they added, this course had been continued for thirty years, and the practical effects of the system had been in the highest degree injurious to the best interests of the country, "inasmuch as one entire branch of the legislature had generally been composed of men, who, from a deficiency of local knowledge, or from the natural bias incident to their official stations, were not qualified to decide upon the wants or just claims of the people; by which the efforts of the representative branch were, in many instances, neutralized, or rendered of no avail." Among the many proofs that might be adduced of the evils arising from the imperfect structure of the upper branch of the legislature, they said, it was only necessary

to refer "to the unsuccessful efforts of the Assembly to extend to the out-ports the advantages of foreign trade; to the enormous sums which it was compelled, after a long struggle, to resign, for the support of the Customs establishment; to the difficulties thrown in the way of a just and liberal system of education;" and to recent abortive attempts it had made "to abolish the unconstitutional and obnoxious fees taken by the judges of the Supreme Court."

After setting forth the injustice of the Anglican Church alone having representation in the Council, the Bishop having since 1809 belonged to the body while no other denomination of Christians had been allowed representation therein; and in other ways illustrating the evils that existed, the address still further urged that while the House had a due reverence for British institutions, and a desire to preserve to the people the advantages of the constitution under which the inhabitants of the British Isles had enjoyed so much prosperity and happiness, its framers were obliged to feel that Nova Scotians participated but slightly in these advantages. The spirit of the British constitution, the genius of British institutions, was complete responsibility to the people, by whose resources and for whose benefit they were maintained. But in Nova Scotia the people were powerless, since even with a Representative Assembly, upon the actual governing body of the province they exercised very little influence, and over its final action had absolutely no control. In England the people by one vote of their representatives could change the ministry and alter any course of policy they found injurious to their interests; in Nova Scotia "the ministry were his Majesty's Council, combining legislative, judicial, and executive powers, holding their seats for life, though nominally at the pleasure of the Crown, and often treating with entire indifference the wishes of the people and the representations of the lower house." As a remedy for the evils under which they groaned the petitioners implored the King "to grant them an elective legislative council; or to separate the executive from the legislative, providing for a just representation of all the great interests of the province in both, and by the introduction into the former of some members of the popular branch, and by otherwise securing responsibility

to the representatives, to confer upon the people of the province what they valued above all other possessions, the blessings of the British constitution.

Upon the British government and upon Lord Glenelg, then at the head of the Colonial Office, this address had the desired effect, and in answer, the Colonial minister forwarded two dispatches to Sir Colin Campbell, in which he declared the sovereign's cheerful assent to the greater part of the measures of the House, and stated that his Majesty was convinced that they would be conducive alike to the honour of the Crown and to the welfare of his faithful subjects.

Having no alternative, the Governor now set to work to reorganize the legislature, and before the opening of the session of 1838 the old Council of Twelve had given place to a Legislative Council, including nineteen members, sitting with open doors; and an Executive Council, consisting of the old number of twelve. Of the latter Council, four sat in the lower house, and two or three in the upper, but the body which "after a fashion was charged with the administration of affairs,"[2] acknowledged no responsibility whatever to the Assembly.

Through some mistake of the Home Government, the instructions sent to Lord Durham, the Governor-General, on the matter of the Council, differed materially from those sent to Sir Colin Campbell. By Lord Durham's commission, the Executive Council was to be limited to nine members, and the Legislative Council to fifteen. Consequently, before the close of the session, the two councils were dissolved, and two others by proclamation appointed in their stead. When the appointments to these new councils became known, it was found that Mr. Huntington, the only liberal in the Executive had been left out, and that the Legislative Council contained a "packed and determined" majority hostile to responsible government.

Nothing could have been more flagrantly opposed to the spirit of Lord Glenelg's dispatches than such a policy as this, and the liberal party, with Mr. Howe at their head, at once began to wage relentless warfare upon it. In 1839 Lord Durham's famous report as Governor-General of Canada suggested to the Home Gov-

2. Hon. William Annand, in "Howe's Speeches and Public Letters."

ernment a union of all the British American provinces, and the establishment throughout this confederation of responsible government. The same year Lord John Russell became Colonial Secretary and entered at once with vigor into the affairs of his department, one of his first acts being the appointment to the governor-generalship of Canada of Mr. Poulett Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), in place of Lord Durham, who had suddenly withdrawn. Soon after Mr. Thompson came out, Lord John sent him dispatches relative to his government of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces, which under Lord Dorchester, in 1786, had all been included in one general government. These dispatches were dated October 14th, 1839, and two days later were followed by further dispatches from the Colonial Secretary to all the governors of the British North American colonies, laying down certain rules thereafter to be enforced, regarding the tenure of office of colonial officials. These new dispatches which were wholly in the spirit of Lord Durham's report, and were much less guarded than those sent two days earlier to Mr. Thompson, declared that offices were no longer to be held for life, that all officials were expected to retire from the public service as often as any motives of public policy might seem to make such a course expedient, and that a change in the person of the governor would be considered as sufficiently warranting the removal of any one from office. The new policy was not to extend to ministerial or judicial offices, but was distinctly to apply to heads of departments.

In New Brunswick the dispatches of Lord John were commended by Sir John Harvey, then governor of that province, although they displeased his Council, but in Nova Scotia Sir Colin Campbell shamelessly suppressed them. It is true he introduced three new members of the House of Assembly into the Council, but they were from the party of the minority in the House, and their elevation tended rather to increase than to lessen the popular bitterness. When the House met in 1840, led by Mr. Howe its members passed resolutions stating their grievances and declaring that the Council as it was then constituted did not possess the confidence of the House. These resolutions were sent to the governor, who as might have been expected treated them with lit-

tle respect, in the course of correspondence taking occasion to affirm his own entire satisfaction with his advisers of the Council. The House had now gone too far to recede, and accordingly felt that it must take the strong measure of asking the Home Government for Sir Colin's recall. In the course of the summer of 1840, the Governor General came to Halifax to look into affairs, and in September Sir Colin Campbell was summoned home and Viscount Falkland (whose wife was Amelia Fitz-Clarence, one of the natural daughters of King William the Fourth) was sent out in his place. A few weeks later five of the members of the Executive Council sent in their resignations, and three liberal members of the Assembly, selected by the Colonial Office, Messrs. S. G. W. Archibald, James B. Uniacke, men of rather moderate views, and Joseph Howe, were appointed in their place.

In November a general election came on, which was fought along the old lines of the Council and the Assembly, but the compromise that had lately been effected robbed party feeling of somewhat of its usual virulence, and in the election returns it was seen that the constitution of the new Assembly differed very little from that of the one that had sat for the past four years. Mr. Howe's acceptance of a place in the Executive Council while that body was still irresponsible, has been variously commented upon by his biographers, but the truth undoubtedly was that he felt the necessity of accepting any concession that could be wrung from the party of the Council, while he still hoped and intended to agitate for better things. Lord Falkland's administration began favorably for the liberal party, but before long it was discovered that the governor was much more in sympathy with the opponents than with the friends of responsible government. Accordingly, party strife ran even higher than in the time of Sir Colin Campbell, for with every year the people of the province at large had become more imbued with liberal sentiments and more bitter against exclusiveness and ancient prerogative in the administration of public affairs. After three years, Mr. Howe and his sympathizers resigned from the Council, and it was not until Lord Falkland had left the province he had so sadly misgoverned, and the much wiser Sir John Harvey had taken his place, that order began to come out of the political chaos that had

so long reigned. During the last years of his rule Lord Falkland was continually the butt of Mr. Howe's brilliant sarcasm, while by the people at large, in several portions of the province, he was respectfully but pointedly told in public addresses that his influence as governor was completely gone.

At last, in August, 1847, another general election was held, and a strong majority of liberals was returned. The administration was defeated in Halifax, and in many of the more populous and important counties of the province, and when in January the session of 1848 began, the contest over the speakership resulted in a victory for the liberals, Mr. Young, afterwards Sir William Young, being elected to the chair. Almost immediately a motion of want of confidence in the Executive Council was made by Mr. Uniacke, the debate on which lasted for two days; then the house divided and the motion was carried by a majority of twenty-eight to twenty-one. In accordance with the practice in the English Parliament, a new cabinet was now formed, the members of which were, the Honourables James B. Uniacke, Michael Tobin, Hugh Bell, Joseph Howe, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, William F. DesBarres, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, and George R. Young. On Mr. Howe was conferred the office of provincial secretary, which for some time previously Sir Rupert Dennis George had filled, while to Mr. Uniacke was given the attorney-generalship, and to Mr. DesBarres the solicitor-generalship. For the first time in Nova Scotia history the liberals now surrounded the lieutenant-governor and had free access to the Colonial Office, and at last and forever the old system of prerogative was done. "Responsible government," says Mr. Annand, "was secured to British America. Principles and rules of administration, defined and illustrated by the conflicts of the past four years, were clearly apprehended, and could be mis-stated and mystified no longer. The right of any party commanding a parliamentary majority to form a Cabinet, and administer public affairs; the right of ministers to be consulted, to resign when they were not, and to go into opposition without injury to the prerogative; in fact, nearly all the points upon which there had been so much controversy, were now settled and disposed of."

So came into being Nova Scotia's present system of local gov-

ernment, the Legislative Council being appointed for life, indeed, by the executive head of the province, but with greatly limited powers; the Executive Council being drawn chiefly from the upper and lower houses; the heads of departments, who correspond to the Cabinet in the government of the United States, unlike the members of the United States Cabinet being also representatives of the people and in the event of a defeat of the government being obliged to refer again to the polls.

The leading opponent of Mr. Howe in the long struggle between the two branches of the legislature was Mr. James William Johnstone, successively a member of the House of Assembly, a member of the Council, Solicitor-General, and Judge in Equity. Like Mr. Howe, in his last days when the heat of party strife was past, he was appointed to the governorship of the province, although he did not live to take office. He was the son of Captain William Martin and Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, formerly of the State of Georgia, but long settled in the island of Jamaica, in which West India island, on the 29th of August, 1792, James William Johnstone was born. Coming to Nova Scotia in early life he studied law and was admitted to the bar, and when at last he rose to the Council, from his position on that board he watched eagerly the movement in favour of responsible government. Conservative by nature and a thorough aristocrat, he soon came out boldly in opposition to the popular movement, and from that time on, for many years, he and Mr. Howe were bitter opponents in general political affairs.

One of the earliest acts of Governor Cornwallis after his arrival, with the approval of the Council he had appointed, was to make provision for an established Judiciary. In pursuance of this measure he appointed a Committee of Council to examine the various legal systems in force in the other American Colonies and report on their fitness for Nova Scotia's needs. On the thirteenth of December (1749), Hon. Benjamin Green reported that after careful investigation the committee had decided that the laws of Virginia were most applicable to the case in hand, and his report was adopted. This report, says Dr. Akins, "referred principally to the judicial proceedings in the General Courts, the County Courts, and other tribunals." "The first thing I set about after the de-

parture of the *Charlton*, writes the Governor in March, 1750, was to establish the courts of judicature," and later in the year he says that it gives him great satisfaction to find that the Lords of Trade approve of the way in which he has established the courts. These earliest Nova Scotia courts were three: a Court of General Sessions, having powers like those of similar courts in England; a County Court, having jurisdiction over the whole province, which then comprised but one county, the members of which were men in the Commission of the Peace at Halifax; and a General Court, or Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, in which for the time being the Governor and Council sat as judges. The County Court sat monthly, and except in criminal matters was invested with all the powers of the Court of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, without limitation of sums, or restriction as to the nature of the action; either of the litigating parties, however, having the right, after judgment, to carry the cause by appeal into the General Court and there obtain a trial *de novo*. The General Court was held twice a year, in April and October, and with a jury tried all criminal offences, and appeals from the County Court in which the sum in dispute exceeded five pounds. It lasted, however, only until 1752, when a Court of Common Pleas was erected in its stead upon the plan of Inferior Courts of Common Pleas in New England.[3] This Court sat four times a year, its judges being selected from those judges who had presided in the County Court. Inconveniences soon arising from the peculiar construction of the General Court, in 1754, a Chief Justice was appointed, and a Supreme Court, of which the Chief Justice was the sole judge, was established in place of the General Court. This Supreme Court was also a Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, and its jurisdiction was in all other respects similar to that of the court whose place it took.

In 1758, when the House of Assembly was created by a temporary act of the legislature, the practice of the Court of Com-

3. The first persons appointed judges of the Court of Common Pleas were Messrs. Charles Morris, James Monk, John Duport, Robert Ewer, and Joseph Scott. John William Hoffman and Leonard Christopher, Esquires, were at the same time appointed justices of the peace. Of the first list, Charles Morris and James Monk were Bostonians.

mon Pleas was changed and a new mode was prescribed, compounded partly from the practice of Massachusetts, and partly from that of England. Two years later New England people in large numbers settled in various parts of the province and then new counties were formed and new courts of Common Pleas were established. As thus constituted the Nova Scotia Judiciary remained until 1764, when on the advice of the Assembly, seconded by the Council, Governor Wilmot appointed two assistant judges for the Supreme Court, with salaries of a hundred pounds each, which amount was afterward reduced to fifty pounds. The persons appointed were the Honourable Charles Morris, a Bostonian now active in Nova Scotia, and the Honourable John Duport, both members of the Council and conspicuously able men. The powers of these new judges were, however, very limited, they were not permitted to try a cause except with the Chief Justice, or even to open or adjourn a court without his presence or concurrence. In 1770, Judge Duport was created Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island, and Mr. Isaac Deschamps, one of the first judges of the Court of Common Pleas for King's County, was appointed to the judgeship he had left. Mr. Morris, however, retained his judgeship until his death in 1781.

In 1774 an act was passed for the establishment of circuits in the province, which authorized the holding of courts at Horton, Annapolis, and Cumberland, to sit not beyond five days at each of these places. At these courts two judges were required to be present. The terms at Halifax were fourteen days each, the court, however, having liberty to continue six days longer if necessity required. Another act of the legislature, in 1809, raised the salaries of the assistant judges of the Supreme Court from four hundred to five hundred pounds currency each, besides travelling fees, and increased their number from two to three. Accordingly, the next year the Governor, Sir George Prevost, appointed as the third assistant judge, Mr. Foster Hutchinson, another Bostonian, now senior barrister of the Nova Scotia bar and a member of the House of Assembly. In 1816 an act was passed to appoint an associate judge on the circuits of the Supreme Court, and in pursuance of the act, Peleg Wiswall, Esquire, also of a New England family, was given a judgeship. At the same

time Mr. Lewis Morris Wilkins, a native of New York, was appointed to a judgeship of the Supreme Court in place of Judge George Henry Monk, who had resigned.

In 1758 there were also in existence in Halifax a Probate Court, an Admiralty Court of Appeals, and a Court of Vice Admiralty, of which the Hon. John Collier was the judge. The judges of the Court of Common Pleas in this year were Charles Morris, James Monk, John Duport, Joseph Gerrish, and Edmund Crawley, the first of whom received a salary of sixty pounds, the others forty pounds each. Three years later Joseph Winniett, George Dyson, and Henry Evans, Esquires, were named as judges of a similar court for Annapolis County, and Isaac Deschamps, Henry Denny Denson, and Robert Denison, Esquires, for the County of King's. The first Halifax court house stood at the corner of Buckingham and Argyle streets, but the building was destroyed by fire in 1783.[4]

In reading of the appointments to chief places in the early Nova Scotia judiciary, we see at a glance how preponderatingly large is the number of New England names in the list. Charles Morris, James Monk, Joseph Gerrish, and Foster Hutchinson, were all representatives of important Boston families. Henry Evans, Peleg Wiswall, Robert Denison and others, in various parts of the province, were also all conspicuous New England born men.[5]

Of Judge Foster Hutchinson, it is interesting to note that he was a son of Judge Foster Hutchinson of Boston, one of the five judges of the Superior Court of Massachusetts at the outbreak of the Revolution; and a nephew of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. The senior Judge Foster Hutchinson, who married, April twelfth, 1750, Margaret Mascarene, daughter of Major Paul Mascarene, came to Halifax with his family in 1776, his son Foster, being then probably in his fifteenth year. The Senior Judge Hutchinson died at Halifax in 1799, but his son rose to as great

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4. A tablet has lately been placed on a building now on the spot, to commemorate the fact of the court-house having been there. The statement, however, has been made in print that "as late as 1803" the courts, and the legislative assembly as well, met in a large wooden building owned by Hon. Thomas Cochran and his brothers, which stood where the Post Office now stands.

5. Judge Lewis Morris Wilkins, however, as we have said, was of a noted New York family, his father being Mr. (afterward the Rev.) Isaac Wilkins, the Loyalist, whose life as a clergyman was spent at Westchester, New York.

prominence in Nova Scotia as his father had enjoyed in Massachusetts, serving as representative in the legislature for Halifax town, as senior member of the bar receiving a judgeship in 1810, and being admitted to the Council in 1813. The testimony of Sir George Prevost, the governor, concerning Hutchinson was, that he was "learned in the law, of good estate, and irreproachable character," and Mr. Beamish Murdoch exalts him as "a polished and truly amiable gentleman and a man of remarkable integrity," his tastes also being "classical and refined." Hutchinson, however, was not robust and he did not live long to enjoy the dignity of the bench. He died in Halifax, unmarried, in 1815, in his fifty-fourth year, and his seat on the Supreme Court bench was given to the Solicitor-General, Mr. James Stewart.[6]

The complete organization of the Nova Scotia Judiciary was effected, as we have seen, in 1754, by the appointment of a Chief Justice and the establishment of a Supreme Court. The first Chief Justice of the province was a Boston born lawyer, Mr. Jonathan Belcher, second son of the Honourable Jonathan Belcher, of Boston, who was successively governor of Massachusetts and New Jersey, and his first wife, Mary Partridge, daughter of a lieutenant-governor of the province of New Hampshire. The Nova Scotia Chief Justice was born in Boston, July twenty-third, 1710, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1728, after this going to the Middle Temple in London to study law. In January, 1733, still of the Temple, he was made a master of arts by Cambridge University, and sooner or later he seems to have gone to Ireland to practice his profession there. In the *Halifax Gazette* of Saturday, June eighth, 1754, we find a dispatch from Boston which gives an extract from a letter from London, dated March nineteenth of that year, containing the announcement that "Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Son of his Excellency Governor Belcher, is appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, with a Salary of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling per

6. Of Judge Foster Hutchinson, Senior, Murdoch says (Vol. 2, pp. 575, 576): "Mr. Hutchinson, late a judge in Massachusetts, who came here on the evacuation of Boston, had some very treasonable addresses reprinted in the Halifax newspaper, thinking to excite the resentment of the people of Nova Scotia by showing the openly avowed rebellion of New England. The Council disapproved of this course and Mr. Hutchinson apologized. A proclamation was then ordered to forbid the reprinting treasonable documents."

Annum, and is expected here [Boston] from Ireland very soon, to embark for that Place." On Monday, October fourteenth, having arrived from Boston, Belcher was sworn in Halifax a member of the Council, and a week later he took the oath of office as Chief Justice.[7]

"On Monday, 14th October," says Mr. Beamish Murdoch, "Jonathan Belcher, the newly appointed Chief Justice of the Province, was (by his Majesty's mandamus) sworn in as a member of the Council; after which the Council adjourned to the Court House, where, after proclamation made for silence, the King's commission appointing Charles Lawrence lieutenant-governor was read in public. He was sworn in and took the chair. The Council addressed him in congratulation and he made a suitable reply. A commission by patent for the Chief Justice was prepared, and on the 21st October (Monday) it was read in Council, and the Chief Justice took the usual oaths and oath of office. On the first day of Michaelmas term, Chief Justice Belcher walked in a procession from the governor's house to the *Pontac*, a tavern. He was accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor, Lawrence, the members of the Council, and the gentlemen of the Bar in their robes. They were preceded by the Provost Marshal, the Judge's tipstaff, and other civil officers. At the long room of the *Pontac* an elegant breakfast was provided. The Chief Justice in his scarlet robes was there received and complimented 'in the politest manner' by a great number of gentlemen and ladies and officers of the army.

"Breakfast being over they proceeded, with the commission carried before them, to the church (St. Paul's), where the Reverend Mr. Breynton preached from this text: 'I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel.' A suitable anthem was sung. After this they proceeded to the Court House, handsomely fitted up for the occasion. The Chief Justice took his seat under a canopy, with the Lieutenant-Governor on his right hand. The

7. Various brief sketches of Chief Justice Belcher have from time to time appeared in print, but a much longer and by far the most valuable sketch of him is by the Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, Kt., whose own Chief-Justiceship of Nova Scotia lasted from 1907 until 1915. Sir Charles was the eleventh Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. His successor is the Hon. Chief Justice Graham. Sir Charles's biography of Chief Justice Belcher will be found in the eighteenth volume of the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," pp. 25-55.

Clerk of the Crown then presented the commission to Mr. Belcher, which he returned. Proclamation for silence was made. Belcher gave some directions for the conduct of practitioners. The grand jury was sworn and the Chief Justice delivered his charge to them. After this the court adjourned and his Honor the Chief Justice, accompanied and attended before, went back to the Governor's house."

A few days after these elaborate ceremonies, the Chief Justice went in his judge's robes, attended by the members of the Bar, the Grand Jury, and the various court officers, to Governor Lawrence's house and in his own name and the names of those who were with him congratulated Lawrence on his appointment to the governorship. To the address Lawrence replied that the Judiciary would have his full support in the performance of their functions, the law, he said, being "the firm and solid basis of civil society, the guardian of liberty, the protector of the innocent, the terror of the guilty, and the scourge of the wicked."

The influence of Chief Justice Belcher in Nova Scotia was far-reaching and wide. The early enactments of the legislature which form the groundwork of the statutes of the province and make the basis of the legal order which has been in force there ever since, were all prepared by him, and there was no important question of government during his control of the Judiciary that he did not in some way influence. On the death of Governor Lawrence in October, 1760, as president of the Council he for a short time administered the government, and then, the newly appointed governor, Henry Ellis, formerly Governor of Georgia, for some reason not coming to his post, on the twenty-first of November, 1760, he was formally created lieutenant-governor. Chief Justice Belcher's greatest achievement for Nova Scotia, however, apart from his able control of her Judiciary, was his successful appeal to the Home Government for a Representative Assembly for the province. As early as 1755 the question of the legality of statutes made for the province by the Governor and Council alone was vigorously raised by Mr. Belcher. "Lawrence and his predecessors in office," says Sir Charles Townshend, "with the approbation of the Council had passed large numbers of laws, or as they were styled ordinances, for the government of the settlement. They had

furthermore put these ordinances in force as a Court, and adjudicated on the rights and controversies of the settlers so far as these ordinances applied to them. They had even tried, convicted, and hanged one man under such authority. All these acts and proceedings were in good faith believed by them to be authorized by the Governor's Commission and the Royal Instructions. Belcher took exception to such a construction, and contended that laws could be made only by the representatives of the people duly elected, and urged upon the Council the necessity of calling a Representative Assembly for that purpose. Lawrence and presumably other members of the Council were opposed to that view. Finally the whole matter was referred to the Home Authorities."

As a matter of course the Lords of Trade gave the matter under such serious discussion in Halifax their immediate attention, and on the seventh of May, 1755, they wrote Governor Lawrence that they had received from both the attorney-general and the solicitor-general of England an unqualified decision that laws as then made in Nova Scotia were not valid, and they directed the governor to take steps to call a representative assembly. Fearing that such an assembly would embarrass him in his government of the province, Lawrence remonstrated, but at last, after much debate, in January, 1757, a detailed plan[8] was resolved on in

8. The chief provisions of the submitted plan were as follows:—"That a House of Representatives of the inhabitants of this province be the Civil Legislature thereof, in conjunction with H. M. Governor or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and His Majesty's Council of the said province.

"The first House to be elected and convened in the following manner and to be styled the General Assembly, viz: That there shall be elected for the province at large, until the same shall be divided into counties, sixteen members; four being for the township of Halifax, two for the township of Lunenburg.

"That until the said township can be more particularly described, the limits thereof shall be deemed to be as follows, viz.: That the township of Halifax comprehend all the lands lying southerly of a line extending from the westernmost head of Bedford Bason across to the northeasterly head of St. Margaret's Bay, with all the islands nearest to the said lands, together with the islands called Corn-Wallis', Webb's and Rous' islands. That the township of Lunesburg comprehend all the lands lying between Lahave river and the easternmost head of Mahone Bay, with all the islands within said bay, and all the islands within Mirligash Bay, and those islands lying to the southward of the above limits.

"That when fifty qualified electors shall be settled at Pisiquid, Mines, Cobequid, or any other township which may hereafter be erected, each of the said townships so settled shall, for their encouragement, be entitled to send two representatives to the General Assembly, and shall likewise have a right of voting in the elections of representatives for the province at large.

"That the house shall always consist of at least eleven members present, besides the speaker, before they enter upon business. That no person shall be chosen as a member of the said house, or shall have the right of voting in the

Council, and the second of October, 1758, nineteen duly elected representatives of the people, pursuant to a summons from the Provost Marshal or Sheriff, convened in the first Nova Scotia Assembly. The newly elected members were: Joseph Gerrish, Robert Sanderson, Henry Newton, William Foye, William Nesbitt, and Joseph Rundell, *Esquires;* and Jonathan Binney, Henry Ferguson, George Suckling, John Burbridge, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, Joseph Fairbanks, Philip Hammond, John Fillis, Lambert Folkers, Philip Knaut, William Best, and Alexander Kedie, *gentlemen,*—five of whom in the first group, Gerrish, Sanderson, Newton, Foye, and Rundell (as seems probable), and at least six in the second, Binney, Campbell, Pantree, Fairbanks, Hammond, and Fillis, were New England, chiefly Boston born, men. Of the remaining eight, some were Englishmen, and some were Germans who had come to Halifax shortly after the first group of English settlers came. The speaker chosen

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election of any member of said house, who shall be a Popish recusant, or shall be under the age of twenty-one years, or who shall not at the time of such election, be possessed in his own right, of a freehold estate within the district for which he shall be elected, or shall so vote; nor shall any elector have more than one vote for each member to be chosen for the province at large, or for any township, and that each freeholder present at such election, and giving his vote for one member for the province at large, shall be obliged to vote also for the other fifteen."

The scheme proposed four members for the township of Halifax, two for Lunenburg, one each for Dartmouth, Lawrencetown, Annapolis, and Cumberland, and twelve for the province at large. (See Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 234). The correspondence between the Governor and the Lords of Trade relative to the Assembly will be found in the first volume of the "Nova Scotia Archives." The proposed plan was formally accepted by the Governor and Council, but the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor being about to leave for Louisburg, it was agreed that the Assembly should not be convened until October. The nineteen members, immediately after they convened elected three of their number, Messrs. Nesbitt, Newton, and Rundel, to wait on the Governor. The latter then appointed two members of the Council, Messrs. Green and Morris, to swear them in. After the oaths had been administered his Excellency requested the presence of the members at Government House, where they found the Governor sitting with the Council. They then proceeded to choose a speaker. The minor officers of the House were David Lloyd, clerk, William Reynolds, doorkeeper, and John Calbeck, messenger.

The New England members in the Second Assembly of the province, which met for the first time in December, 1759, were: Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Malachy Salter, Benjamin Gerrish, Capt. Charles Proctor, Col. Jonathan Hoar, John Newton, Capt. Simon Slocomb, Col. Joseph Fry, and John Huston.

Among Governor Cornwallis's first councillors, it will be remembered, were at least three Massachusetts men, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, and Edward How. By 1758, two others from Massachusetts had been added to the list, Messrs. Jonathan Belcher and Charles Morris. For Charles Morris, see the writer's sketch of him in the "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," Vol. 67, pp. 287-290. For Hibbert Newton and his family, see the writer's sketch in the same periodical, Vol. 68, pp. 101-103.

was Robert Sanderson, who had been a merchant in Boston and was now a merchant and ship-owner in Halifax. He was without doubt a grandson of Robert Sanderson, silversmith, of Boston, a deacon of the First Church, who with John Hull was given charge of the first coinage of shillings, sixpences, and threepences in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in 1652.

Chief-Justice Belcher's tenure of office as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia lasted only from November, 1761, until September twenty-sixth, 1762, when Col. the Honorable Montague Wilmot assumed the office. But until his death, which occurred on the twenty-ninth of March, 1776, the Chief-Justice's interest was unremitting in public affairs. In the expulsion of the Acadians from the province in 1755, and the subsequent settlement of the lands from which they had been removed and the lands never previously occupied by European inhabitants; in defending Halifax from possible attack by the French; in regulation of Nova Scotia's commerce; and in the settlement of no end of local disputes, Mr. Belcher's voice was persistently raised and his influence strongly felt. "Although from all that is known of him," says Sir Charles Townshend, "it would seem that he was a man of strong will, and possibly of despotic temperament, against that it must be remembered that in the rude and unsettled state of the Province, and the constant peril and danger surrounding the country, first from the French and Indians, and afterward from the outbreak of the American Revolution, a strong and fearless man in office was required." I think it is a fair deduction from all we know of him," he continues, "that he was a man of pure and elevated character, that he devoted himself to the land of his adoption with zeal and energy, and that to his great learning and his determination we are largely, perhaps chiefly, indebted for our constitutional rights and for the law and order which have prevailed in Nova Scotia from the first."[9]

Chief-Justice Belcher's house in Halifax, was somewhere in Argyle Street, but he also owned a farm at Windsor, which was known as "Belvidere Farm." He was more or less interested in shipping, and he had grants of land at Sheet Harbour and possi-

9. "Jonathan Belcher, the First Chief Justice" by Sir Charles Townshend, in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 18, pp. 35, 52.

bly other places, but he never amassed wealth and sometime after his death his only surviving daughter was granted for her partial support a pension of fifty pounds a year. On the thirty-first of March, 1776, he was buried under St. Paul's Church. It is commonly believed that in the Revolution, of which he lived to see the earlier events, his sympathies were decidedly with his New England friends who had espoused the patriot cause. He was succeeded in the office of Chief Justice by Bryan Finucane, Esq., an Irish barrister, who assumed the office early in 1778, but between his death and the arrival in Halifax of Mr. Finucane the office was temporarily filled by the Hon. Charles Morris.[10]

Between 1778 and 1797 four Chief Justices in succession administered the chief judicial affairs of Nova Scotia, Messrs. Bryan Finucane, Isaac Deschamps, Jeremiah Pemberton, and Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange, none of whom were New England men, but in the latter year a Boston born lawyer once more became head of the Provincial Judiciary. On the ninth of September, 1797, Judge Strange's resignation was placed before the Council,[11] and Sir John Wentworth, who was then governor, stated that he had His Majesty's approval to make the Attorney General, Mr. Sampson Salter Blowers, Chief Justice. Sampson Salter Blowers, son of John Blowers, goldsmith, and his wife Sarah Salter, was born in Boston, March tenth, 1742 (of our

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10. In his interesting sketch of Chief Justice Belcher, Sir Charles Townshend speaks of the handsome equipment of the Chief Justice's house and of the valuable library he owned. "We can fairly presume," he adds that at his hospitable board many of the notable men who lived in and visited Halifax were worthily entertained."

The Belcher family was continued for some years in Halifax by the Chief Justice's only living son, Hon. Andrew Belcher, who married in Boston Mary Ann or Marianne Geyer, and among whose children was the distinguished Rear Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, K. C. B. In the 18th volume of the "Coll. of the N. S. Hist. Soc." the writer has given the name of Mrs. Andrew Belcher as *von Geyer*, this is a mistake which has repeatedly been made in print, the name was not a German but a New England name and sometimes was spelled Gaier, Geier, etc., as well as Geyer. For Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, see the "Dictionary of National Biography."

11. For the life of Chief Justice Strange, see the "Dictionary of National Biography." Strange was knighted March 14, 1798, in which year he was removed for important judicial service to Madras, India. He was born in England and educated at Oxford. A portrait of him by Benjamin West was painted for Halifax, and one for Madras by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Strange died in England, July 16, 1841. A more definite account of his appointment in India than that given in the Dictionary of National Biography says that he left Nova Scotia having accepted the appointment of recorder in the fort of St. George, Bombay. Before he left Nova Scotia he made a present of his law library to the province. This became the nucleus of the present library of the Bar at Halifax.

present calendar), the youngest but one of five children, four of whom were girls. For the rather remarkable name he bore he was indebted to his maternal grandfather, Sampson Salter, who when he died in 1778 mentioned him conspicuously in his will.[12] At the age of eleven Blowers entered the Boston Latin School and and after spending six years there, one year less than the full course in that school in preparation for college, entered Harvard. In 1763 he graduated, the twenty-first member in social rank of a class the whole number of which was thirty-nine, among his classmates being Jonathan Bliss, afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, Nathan Cushing, Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, Dr. John Jeffries, a notable Tory, remembered for his balloon flight across the English Channel on the seventeenth of January, 1785, Nathaniel Noyes, Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State for the United States, Josiah Quincy, and Joshua Upham, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. After leaving college Blowers studied law in the office of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and probably in July, 1766, was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar.

Blowers's activity as a lawyer in Boston is declared by the large number of cases in which the Suffolk Court records show him to have been concerned, a conspicuous one of these being the defence of Captain Preston, a British officer, and some other British soldiers, who had taken part in what is known as the Boston massacre, in 1770. His colleagues in this case were Messrs. John Adams and Blowers's Harvard classmate, Josiah

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12. In the Boston fire of 1760, Sampson Salter had a brew-house burned in Quaker Lane. Mr. Salter made his will March 31, 1778, (proved April 4, 1778). It was understood in Boston that he originally intended his grandson to have much more of his estate than he finally left him, but that he feared that all Blowers had would be confiscated by the Patriots. For the Blowers family at large, see Paige's "History of Cambridge, Mass.," p. 489. The Blowers descent of Sampson Salter[4] Blowers was: John[3], Rev. Thomas[2], Captain Pyam[1]. John Blowers and Sarah Salter were married by Rev. Joshua Gee of the Second Church, Nov. 27, 1735, and had children: Sarah, born Sept. 3, 1736; Martha, Dec. 19, 1738; Emma, March 12, 1740; Sampson Salter, March 10, 1742; Martha, April 8, 1744. The baptisms of the first three of these children will be found on the Register of the Second Church, the baptisms of the last two we have not anywhere found. Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers was a second cousin once removed of Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher of Nova Scotia, and was related, but perhaps even more remotely, to Malachy Salter, one of the most considerable merchants of Halifax in early times.

Quincy.[13] When the Revolution came, Blowers's sympathies were strongly with the British cause and on the thirtieth of May, 1774, with other barristers and attorneys of Massachusetts he signed a complimentary address to his friend Governor Hutchinson, shortly before the latter's departure for England. In this year the Massachusetts courts were suspended, and in November Blowers himself left for England, where with other Loyalists besides Hutchinson we find him from shortly before the first of January, 1775, until August, 1777. Under date of January third, 1775, Governor Hutchinson records in his diary: "Three gentlemen from New England, Ingersoll, Bliss, and Blowers, came to my house in the evening, with a great number of letters and papers from my friends." Of the fourth of January Hutchinson says: "In the morning accompanied the New England men to Ld Dartmouth's, who made a particular enquiry into the affairs of the Province. Bliss gave the fullest account. He was clear, upon Lord D. asking whether any concession would be like to satisfy, that it would not, and that nothing but a force sufficient would bring them to order."[14]

Under date of January first, 1776, Judge Samuel Curwen, the Salem, Massachusetts, refugee, writes in his journal kept in England: "To the Adelphi, Strand, where by appointment met twenty-one of my countrymen, who have agreed on a weekly dinner here, viz. Messrs. Richard Clark, Joseph Green, Jonathan Bliss, Jonathan Sewall, Joseph Waldo, S. S. Blowers, Elisha Hutchinson, William Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Quincy, Isaac Smith, Harrison Gray, David Greene, Jonathan Clark, Thomas Flucker, Joseph Taylor, Daniel Silsbee, Thomas Brinley, William Cabot, John S. Copley, and Nathaniel Coffin. Samuel Porter, Edward Oxnard, Benjamin Pickman, John Amory, Judge

13. For the prominence of Mr. Blowers as a lawyer in Massachusetts, see "Record Book of the Suffolk Bar," in the 19th Vol. of the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (1st Series), pp. 145, 147, 148, 151, 152. See also Vol. 8, p. 440, and Vol. 15, pp. 184, 397. See further Suffolk Court Records unprinted; and Blowers's own testimony before the commissioner on Loyalist claims at Halifax, in 1785.

14. David Ingersoll, a lawyer, born in 1742, was graduated at Yale College in 1761. He like Blowers addressed Hutchinson in 1774. He was the third son of Capt. David Ingersoll of Great Barrington, Mass., and practiced law in that town. He died in England Nov. 10, 1796. Jonathan Bliss, born Oct., 1742, graduated at Harvard in 1763, and like Ingersoll and Blowers practised law. He settled in New Brunswick about 1784, and became Chief Justice of that province. He was the father of Judge William Blowers Bliss of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court.

Robert Auchmuty, and Major Urquhart, absent, are members of this club, as is also Governor Hutchinson."[15] On the eighth of June, 1776, Judge Curwen writes: "Dined with Judge Sewall at Brompton Row; and with him his wife and sister, Mr. Blowers and wife, Samuel Sewall, and William Browne, was admitted to the queen's palace in St. James's Park." March twenty-seventh, 1777, Curwen writes: "Walked out with Judge Sewall and Mr. A. Willard to Cromwell's garden, which is in ill repair; drank tea at the house of the former, and passed the evening with the New England Club, say 'Brompton-Row Tory Club,' at Mr. Blowers."[16]

The date of Blowers's return to America from his sojourn in England has usually been given in print as some time in 1778, but his own statement before the commissioner on Loyalist claims in Halifax, in November, 1785, is that he left England for New York in August, 1777.[17] From New York he soon went to Rhode Island, where the British troops were still in control, and in Newport he remained until April, 1778. On the eighth of December, 1777, his father-in-law, Mr. Benjamin Kent of Boston, petitioned the Massachusetts Council that his daughter Elizabeth might be permitted to go to Newport to see her sister, who, he says, had been absent from her family "above three years," and bring her back to Boston with her. The next day the Council granted Miss Kent permission "to depart this State for Newport in the state of R^de^ Island to see her Sister who has lately arrived there from Great Britain and to return with her said Sister to this State, provided the Honble Major Genl. Spencer in-

15. A document printed in Vol. 3, of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register (pp. 82, 83) gives the form of agreement made by these gentlemen to dine at the Adelphi Tavern, every Thursday. There are twenty signatures given to this agreement, of which Sampson Salter Blowers's is the nineteenth. The expense of the dinner, exclusive of liquors and waiters is to be two and sixpence each person present, and no more. The month and day on which the agreement was signed are not given, but the year was 1775.

16. Judge Curwen tells us that Jonathan Clarke, Thomas Danforth, Edward Oxnard, Judge Sewall, and himself all lodged in Brompton Row, Kensington, but he does not tell us whether Mr. Blowers lived there or not.

17. The commissioner who took his evidence in Halifax on the 30th of November, 1785, was Mr. Jeremy Pemberton, previously a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who had been sent out from England to take evidence in the cases of Loyalists who had lost property in the Revolution. He sat for this purpose in Halifax in 1785-86. He became in August, 1788, fourth Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, but his incumbency terminated before May, 1790, when he was succeeded by Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange.

dulges her with a Flag for said purpose, she engaging to carry no papers or letters detrimental to this or any other of the United States."[18] That Mrs. Blowers did return to Boston with her sister we know from her husband's declaration before the commissioner in Halifax, for in that he details rather minutely his movements during the Revolutionary struggle.[19] In April, 1778, he says, he went from Newport to Boston to visit Mrs. Blowers, who was ill, he having previously "obtained a written leave from General Sullivan" to do so. On his arrival in his native town, "he was immediately thrown into a Gaol with 4 or 5 Comn. felons and kept a close prisoner for 8 days and then sent off in a flag of Truce to Halifax."[20] Of this indignity Mr. Edward Winslow, at Halifax, on the thirteenth of November, 1778, writes to Major Barry: "I've been listening this day with great satisfaction to the observations of my friend Blowers, made during his barbarous confinement at Boston. . . . The harsh treatment which he received during his stay at Boston was most unparalleled and cruel. You may one day hear the particulars from him, I will only tell you that the dampest, dirtiest hole in the common gaol was the place allotted him."[21]

From Halifax Mr. Blowers returned to Newport, and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1779, was appointed there Judge of the Rhode Island Court of Vice Admiralty. Newport was evacuated by the British on the twenty-fifth or twenty-seventh of October, 1779, and he then sailed for England to seek compensation for his financial losses. The next year he came back to America, this

18. "Revolution Petitions," in the Massachusetts Archives, and also the "Kent Genealogy."

19. See "Second Report of the Bureau of Archives of the Province of Ontario" (1905), part 1, pp. 490, 491.

20. The fierce act of proscription of the Loyalists who had left the State was not issued in Massachusetts until September, 1778, so that Mr. Blowers violated no statute in returning to his native State. This act declared that if any of the absentees should voluntarily return from exile they should "on conviction thereof by the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Jail Delivery, suffer the pains of death without benefit of clergy." It is said that this visit of Mr. Blowers to Boston was the last he ever made to his native town.

21. The "Winslow Papers," edited by Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D. Some time in 1778 Edward Winslow wrote Jonathan Sewall: "The conduct of our dearly beloved cousins at Boston towards Blowers gives one a pretty little idea of the present government. . . . Blowers tells us many extraordinary stories relative to the improvement of the Bostonians in what a certain lady calls 'the liberal arts.' Would you realize that the sons of some of our true old charter saints publicly roll in chariots with kept mistresses, and that many of our former meek and lowly Christians, now freed from restraint, are rioting at great rate."

time with the appointment of Solicitor General for New York.[22] Early in September, 1783, with Mrs. Blowers and her sister Elizabeth Kent, Blowers sailed for Halifax, although the evacuation of New York did not take place until November twenty-fifth of that year.[23]

In an interesting letter to Ward Chipman ("My dear Chip") which he writes from Halifax on the twenty-fifth of September, 1783, Mr. Blowers says of his voyage from New York and his reception at Halifax: "Our passage was as well as we had room to expect, and we are now comfortably lodged at a Mrs. Whittys, where we have three rooms and a kitchen for eight pounds a month, and are now all three of us, sitting in tolerable health and spirit round a good fire. I have been politely received by the Governor, and have seen several of the great men here, and am told by them all that my coming among them is agreeable and that I shall soon find business. This last I am inclined to doubt in any extreme degree." The first employment of a public sort he seems to have obtained was at military headquarters, for on the tenth of October, 1783, Winslow writes to Chipman: "Gen'l Fox has been very civil to Blowers, and on looking about he seems tolerably well satisfy'd. He is appointed one of the Board of Accounts here."[24] In the early part of 1784, as we see by the *Nova Scotia Gazette* and *Weekly Chronicle* of February third and February tenth, where we find published an extract from "General Orders issued from headquarters by order of General Campbell," he was acting as military secretary at Halifax.[25]

In a note to the "Winslow Papers," Archdeacon Raymond says that in 1784 Blowers was named as Attorney General for New

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22. The date of Mr. Blowers's appointment by the Lords of the Admiralty to the Rhode Island judgeship was April 29, 1779. Blowers was appointed by Governor Robertson of New York to the Solicitor-Generalship of New York, "under Seal of the Province," March 13, 1781. He served also as secretary to the Board of Loyalists at New York all the time that that Board existed.

23. Hon. Ward Chipman, a close friend of Blowers, writes Edward Winslow, July 29, 1783: "Blowers with his family mean to embark in the course of the next month for Halifax." Major Upham writes Edward Winslow from New York, August 21, 1783: "We shall all soon be with you—everybody, all the World, moves on to Nova Scotia—Blowers, etc., will soon be there." "Winslow Papers," pp. 111, 124. October 18, 1783, Sarah Winslow, at Halifax, writes Benjamin Marston. In this letter she says that her family and the Blowers family arrived at Halifax in the same vessel, on the 14th of September, 1783. "Winslow Papers," pp. 141-143.

24. "Winslow Papers," pp. 139, 140.

25. This extract from General Orders is signed "S. S. Blowers, Secretary."

Brunswick, but that he relinquished this position immediately on receiving a similar appointment for Nova Scotia.[26] In a letter to Ward Chipman from Halifax, written January fourteenth, 1785, Blowers says: "You will have heard before this reaches you that Gov. Parr has made me Attorney General here. I am now in the full execution of the office. The warrant has not yet arrived, but I have letters from Sir William P., of the 4th September, acquainting me that Mr. N. was to write me at once.

"Nothing is said respecting my successor in New Brunswick, but as Matthews' warrant for Louisburg was forwarded by the same opportunity, I think it probable he is not the man. I wish you may be.[27] In the meantime, would it not be well to get an order from your Governor and Council for you to do the duty, and let it be known in England that you are doing it. It will be necessary to have such appointment when grants are to be made, for the King's instructions require the *Attorney General's* fiat. I will furnish you with the form whenever you want it."[28]

On the twenty-fourth of December, 1784, Blowers was appointed Attorney General of Nova Scotia; in 1785 he sat in the Assembly for the County of Halifax, and on the fifth of December of this year he was unanimously chosen Speaker of the House. January third, 1788, he was made a member of the Council, and on the ninth of September, 1797, he was sworn in sixth Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, in succession to Chief Justice Strange.[29] On the same date he also took his seat as President of the Council.

In a note on Chief Justice Blowers printed in the "Diary and Letters" of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, which is signed "W.

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26. This note is on page 208 of the "Winslow Papers." Archdeacon Raymond also refers here to Lawrence's "Footprints or Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick," p. 13, and to "Canadian Archives" for 1895, under "New Brunswick." Blowers undoubtedly never lived in New Brunswick and how often at this early period of his residence in the Lower Provinces he may have visited there we do not know.

27. Ward Chipman, born in 1754, another of the many able Massachusetts Loyalists who settled in the Maritime Provinces, acted as Attorney General of New Brunswick for some little time, but was never appointed to that office. He was, however, appointed Solicitor General of New Brunswick, August 19, 1784. In 1809 he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the same province. He died in 1824.

28. For this letter, see Lawrence's "Footprints," and (in an imperfect form) the "Kent Genealogy."

29. The annual salary he received as Chief Justice was eight hundred and fifty pounds.

J. Stirling," we find a much more intimate account of Blowers given than we have ever been able to get elsewhere. Blowers, says Mr. Stirling, "was of great ability. He had untiring industry, vast legal knowledge, sound judgment, impartiality, and patience. He had little eloquence; no wit nor imagination. His mind was grave, deliberate, and cautious. But on one occasion he showed an irritable temper. Uniacke, the Attorney General of Nova Scotia after Blowers, a very able, but ruffianly man, had a street fight with Jonathan Sterns, a Boston Loyalist. Uniacke, a very strong man, beat so savagely Sterns, a weak and sickly man, as to cause his death. Blowers, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Sterns, was so angry that he challenged Uniacke to fight a duel. Uniacke accepted the challenge, but secretly sent his wife to inform the police Magistrate. So the two officers of the law in the Colony were bound over to keep the peace.[30] Blowers had the greatest esteem for Foster Hutchinson, Jr., [nephew of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, and son of Judge Foster Hutchinson, Sr., of Massachusetts], and was greatly grieved by his death. Blowers retained his faculties to the last. He kept up his College studies, and always read with pleasure the Greek and Latin classics. In his latter years he was silent and gloomy and would not speak of the scenes he had witnessed many years before. He destroyed all his papers: no letters nor memoranda of any kind were left by him. In person he was very short and rather thin: his face had some resemblance to that of Washington; a portrait of him is in the Legislative House at Halifax, but does not in the least resemble him. He had no children, and his property, after his widow's death, went to a Mr. Bliss." Another note in the same volume says that in the political and personal disputes be-

30. Accounts which we have of Hon. Richard John Uniacke, Sr., one of the ablest public men in Nova Scotia, in her whole history, describe the long rivalry which existed between him and Blowers for public position. Uniacke's bitterness rose to its highest pitch when Blowers was appointed to the Chief-Justiceship instead of him. It was probably in 1797, shortly before Blowers was appointed Chief Justice, and Uniacke succeeded to the Attorney-Generalship, as he did, that this duel was proposed. It is said that the duel was prevented by the Chief Justice (Strange). Uniacke took the oath as Attorney General on the same day, September 9th, that Blowers took the oath of office as Chief Justice. Blowers had filled the office of Attorney General, as we have seen, from December 24, 1784. Jonathan Sterns, another conspicuous Massachusetts Loyalist, died in Halifax May 23, 1798. Except as Stirling's account gives it, we have never known the cause of his death. Sterns was a lawyer and his public career in Halifax is well worth tracing.

tween Loyalists and the "Old Inhabitants," which for several years after the Revolution raged in government circles in Halifax, Blowers was the acknowledged leader of his fellow refugees. In the thirty-five years that he served as Chief Justice of Nova Scotia "he outlived every person [of his contemporaries] in public life in the Colony. The Governor and two of his successors; the two Judges, and four of their successors; the forty Members of the Assembly, and many who had succeeded to their seats —all these passed away while Blowers was Chief Justice. He lived ten years after retiring from the Bench, and died at Halifax, from the effects of a fall, in October, 1842."[31]

Of the legal acts or opinions of Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers during his leadership of the Nova Scotia Judiciary we have few records anywhere remaining. His opinion on the question of the legality of slave-holding in the British Colonies, however, we find recorded. The question was agitated during the chief-justiceship of Blowers's immediate predecessor, Strange, and for several years after Blowers himself became Chief Justice, and both Strange and Blowers decided against it. Chief Justice Ludlow of New Brunswick, previously of New York, took his stand on what he called "the Common Law of the Colonies," by which he said the right to hold slaves had been uniformly recognized and established without any act ever having been passed directly authorizing slavery. In opposition to him, Blowers held strongly that the Common Law of England was that of the Colonies, that these had none other, and that slavery being declared illegal by the Common Law of England, its illegality in the Colonies was undoubted. The difference in the opinions of these two Maritime-Provincial Chief Justices, it has been said, may have been in some measure due to the fact of Ludlow's training in New York, and Blowers's in Massachusetts, in which province "slavery had obtained but a weak foothold and died early and quietly," while in New York it "had an earlier establishment and a more extensive development."[32]

31. "The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.," Vol. I, p. 341. It is said that to the end of his life Chief Justice Blowers was accustomed to take long walks for his health. It is also said, in print, that the Hon. Joseph Howe in some speech said that Blowers never wore an overcoat in his life.

32. See "The Slave in Canada," by Rev. T. Watson Smith, D. D., in the tenth volume of the "Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections," pp. 97-103.

Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers married in Boston (the Rev. Dr. William Walter of Trinity Church officiating) on the fifth of April, 1774, Sarah Kent, born May nineteenth, baptized May twenty-seventh, 1758, her parents being Benjamin and Elizabeth (Watts) Kent. In the same year as her marriage Mrs. Blowers went to England with her husband, and when he returned three years later, came with him to New York. Late in 1777, as we have seen, she received permission to revisit Boston, and there for a short time she remained. After this we suppose she was with her husband continuously to the close of his life. Outliving the Chief Justice a little while, she died in Halifax some time in July, 1845, having never, so far as we know, borne any child.[33]

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33. For a minute account of Benjamin Kent and his family, see "Genealogies of the Different Families bearing the name of Kent in the United States," by L. Vernon Briggs, Boston, 1898, pp 38-48. Benjamin Kent, third son of Joseph and Rebecca (Chittenden) Kent, was born in 1708, and after graduating at Harvard in 1727, entered the Congregational ministry. In 1731 he was chaplain of the garrison at Fort George, Brunswick, Maine, and October 27, 1733, he was installed minister of the church at Marlborough, Mass. In 1735 he withdrew from this charge and in time took up the study of the law. He is said in the Kent Genealogy to have been "a humorist, not sufficiently reverent of things divine to please his straight-faced contemporaries. He was full of fun, drollery, humor, and had an unmethodical, irregular head, but his thoughts were good and [his] expressions happy. After leaving the ministry he studied for the bar, where he became celebrated for his eccentricity and wit." During the years 1757-67 he practiced in Worcester County, but later he became prominent in Boston, where he rose to be attorney-general of Massachusett's. Whether Mr. Kent's sympathies in the Revolution were strongly with the British does not seem to be known, but somewhere between June, 1783, and January, 1785, probably influenced by his son-in-law, with his wife Elizabeth he went to Windsor, Nova Scotia, and then to Halifax, where he and his wife spent the rest of their lives and died. On a tombstone in St. Paul's burying-ground, Halifax, is the following inscription: Sacred to the memory of *Benjamin Kent, late of Boston, New England, barrister-at-law,* who died on the 22nd day of October, 1788, in the 81st year of his age; and *also his wife,* who departed this life on the 2nd day of August, 1802, in the 80th year of her age." Elizabeth Kent, eldest sister of Mrs. Blowers, born Jan. 6, 1745, baptized by the minister of the West Church, Boston, Jan. 13, 1745, was with her sister, Mrs. Blowers, in New York, for in June of that year her father petitioned the Massachusetts legislature that she might return to Boston, as she was ill and he feared greatly that the sultry weather of New York in midsummer would prove fatal to her. Whether she did return or not we do not know, but apparently the Great and General Court failed to act on her father's petition. (See "Revolution Petitions," Mass. State Documents, Vol. 188, p. 90. Connected with the petition in this volume is a draft of the desired permission for Miss Kent to return, but the draft is unsigned and was never acted on by the Court. The draft bears date June 3, 1782.)

When the Blowerses finally left New York for Nova Scotia Miss Kent was with them, and she was living in Halifax at least as late as 1818. On the 26th of May, 1793, Elizabeth Kent, widow of Benjamin Kent, Sampson Salter Blowers and his wife Sarah, and Elizabeth Kent, single woman, at Halifax, deeded to William Burley of Boston, for six hundred pounds, a brick dwelling house and land on the north side of State Street (earlier known as King Street), formerly the dwelling house of Benjamin Kent, late of Boston, deceased.

Chief Justice Blowers resigned the position of chief of the Nova Scotia Judiciary in the year 1833, his successor in this high office being Mr. Brenton Halliburton, born in Newport, Rhode Island, (the son of Dr. John Halliburton, another notable Loyalist), who received knighthood shortly before his death, which occurred in 1860.[34] Sampson Salter Blowers died at Halifax October twenty-fifth, 1842, his life having covered, as we have said, a little more than a full century.[35] He was buried in Camp Hill Cemetery, as was his widow a little less than three years later, and there are tombstones to their memory. The most conspicuous monument, however, erected to the memory of Chief Justice Blowers, rests on the east wall of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, in which church the Chief Justice for many years worshipped. The monument is a beautiful piece of sculpture, and bears the following notable inscription:

In Memory of
The Honourable Sampson Salter Blowers
For Five and Thirty Years President of H. M. Council
And Chief Justice of Nova Scotia
A Learned, Careful, And Impartial Judge
An Able and Faithful Servant of the Crown
And a True Friend to this Province
Of a Strong and Discriminating Mind and Sound Judgment
Amiable and Benevolent in Manners and Disposition
Exemplary in Conduct and of the Stricted Integrity
After a Long Career of Labour and Usefulness
Honoured and Esteemed by All
He Resigned His Office
And Passed the Decline of Life in Peaceful Retirement
And Died on the 25th Day of October, A. D. 1842
At the Age of One Hundred Years

Chief Justice Blowers's will was executed at Halifax, November twenty-ninth, 1833, and was filed and recorded in Boston, November thirteenth, 1843. In it he gives to Sarah Ann Bliss, wife of William Blowers Bliss, two thousand pounds current

34. An interesting Life of Sir Brenton Halliburton was written many years ago by the Rev. Dr. George William Hill, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, and will be found in the Boston Public Library and elsewhere. An important assistant judge in Nova Scotia, was Judge James Brenton, an uncle of Sir Brenton Halliburton.

35. The exact length of Mr. Blowers's life was one hundred years, seven months, and fifteen days.

money of Nova Scotia, and also his house and grounds at Windsor, known as "Fairfield Cottage," with the furniture, cattle, and implements thereto belonging. To Mrs. Ann Anderson, mother of Mrs. Bliss, he leaves two hundred pounds current money, and to Mrs. Ann Kidston, a like sum of two hundred pounds. Other legatees by his will are his sister Mrs. Martha Pritchard, "now or late of Boston," and her children, and the children of his late sister Elizabeth Rhodes. The rest and residue of his estate he leaves to his dear wife, "for her use and behoof during her life," after her decease the whole residue of his estate to go to Mrs. Sarah Ann Bliss and her heirs. His executor and executrix are William Blowers Bliss and his wife Sarah Ann.[36]

In Boston, Chief Justice Blowers lived in Southack's Court, now Howard Street, for on the sixth of September, 1784, he and his wife sold through Dr. Samuel Danforth, to whom Blowers had previously given power of attorney, to Elisha Sigourney, for five hundred pounds, a wooden house, which had formerly been their dwelling, and the land about it, in the westerly part of Boston, "situated on Southack's Court."[37] The affluence of the Blowerses

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36. William Blowers Bliss was the third son of Jonathan Bliss, a classmate of Chief Justice Blowers at Harvard, a Loyalist and an early Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and his wife, Mary Worthington. He was born at St. John, New Brunswick, August 28, 1795, graduated at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, studied at the Inner Temple, London, practised law in Halifax, and in April, 1834, was elevated to the Supreme Bench, in place of Judge Richard John Uniacke (son of the first Richard John Uniacke). He is regarded as one of the ablest judges Nova Scotia has ever had. He had a handsome residence at Fort Massey, Halifax, where he died March 16, 1874, aged 79. He resigned his seat on the Bench in 1869. The "Mrs. Ann Anderson," mother of Mrs. William Blowers Bliss, is said to have been related in some way to Mrs. Sampson Salter Blowers; what the relationship was, however, we do not know. Mrs. Blowers had a sister Ann Kent, but she probably died in Boston (see the burial records of Trinity Church) early in September, 1782. Judge William Blowers Bliss and his wife Sarah Ann had in all seven children, three sons and four daughters. One of these daughters, became the wife of the Rt. Rev. Hibbert Binney, Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, and one the wife of Hon. Senator William Hunter Odell. Chief Justice Jonathan Bliss of New Brunswick died at Fredericton, N. B., October 1, 1822. For a valuable memoir of Judge William Blowers Bliss, by Hon. Chief Justice (of N. S.) Sir Charles Townshend, see Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, Vol. 17 (1913), pp. 23-45.

37. The instrument appointing Blowers's "good friend," Samuel Danforth, of Boston, physician, his attorney, was first issued at Halifax, August 7, 1783, and was affirmed at Halifax, May 8, 1784. It was once more affirmed October 13, 1784, Mr. Blowers then declaring himself as residing in the city of New York. The instrument was first signed, with seals, by Mr. and Mrs. Blowers, in presence of Samuel Winslow and John Amory, Jr. The Blowers's property in Southack's Court is fully described in the Suffolk County Registry of Deeds. Blowers's losses in the Revolution are carefuly detailed in his deposition before the commissioner on Loyalist claims.

in Nova Scotia is amply testified to by the way in which they lived, they had their town house in Halifax, and their country place at Windsor, "a handsome country seat," as tradition styles it, whither they drove every summer, with a coachman and two liveried footmen, from the capital town.

The portrait of Chief Justice Blowers, of which Mr. Stirling makes mention in the note in Governor Hutchinson's Life, was painted in 1820 by request of the "Quarter Sessions and Grand Jury" of Halifax made to Mr. Blowers on the twenty-first of December, 1819. The painter of the portrait, Mr. Harry Piers tells us, was John Poad Drake.[38]

38. See Murdoch's documentary "History of Nova Scotia" under the year 1819. Mr. Piers speaks of the portrait in his valuable paper in the eighteenth volume of the Nova Scotia Historical Society's "Collections," entitled "Artists in Nova Scotia." The portrait now hangs in the Halifax County Court House. It is reproduced in the "Winslow Papers," edited by Archdeacon Raymond, opposite page 614.

Taps For "Boots"

By Rev. Charles Caverno, A. M., LL.D.

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago, more and less, my father used to take the farm horse and wagon and go off several miles and bring home an old bootmaker, his bench and all the tools of his occupation. He was given a corner of the kitchen for a work shop. There he wrought at the problem of the shoe and boot gear of the family for the coming year. His work was almost entirely with tanned cow and ox hide leather. No calf or sheep skin put in appearance. He could make a boot out of new leather, but he did not scorn to make a new boot out of old leather. I have myself worn a cowhide boot for three years that was made out of the leather of a boot that had been worn many years by my father. It was large enough when I began to wear it but sat rather snug before the three years were out. Everything was utilized in those days. I never wore a calf boot till I went from college to teach a winter school in Massachusetts. One of the problems before this old artisan was repair.

Burns, in "The Cottar's Saturday Night," says—

> "The mother, wi' her needle and her sheers
> Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new."

A similar effect was wrought on an old shoe or boot by revamping and putting on new taps. I want to put a few new taps on the "Boots" I displayed in the November, 1915, number of this Magazine. I think the taps will be discerned to be of the same quality as the original leather to which they are attached.

I do not know but I ought to go back to a previous inquisition of perhaps justifiable curiosity—

"Should you ask me whence these stories?
I should answer I should tell you—"

they are the result of experiences in farm boy life in New Hampshire and on a Government Homestead in the wilds of the Chippewa Valley, Wisconsin, fifty years ago, and of reflections therewith connected.

A fellow occupant with the Indian, in a wooded or brush country between the Bay of Fundy and Puget Sound, was the Rattlesnake. But the latter as well as the former is retreating before the boot of the White man. I see that F. A. Ober—author of "Among the Caribbus" speaks of the sense of "invulnerability" which his "boots" gave him against the "*Fer der lance*" of some West Indian Isles. My observation has been confined mostly to the "Massasauga" that inhabits the northern frontier of the Western States. I think "familiarity" with him does "breed contempt." But the secret of that mean opinion of him as an enemy is not usually thought of. If pioneers were compelled to wear not boots but shoes, that little wretch a foot and a half or two feet long would assume a much more formidable character than he can now maintain. He strikes of course at the part of the object that approaches nearest to him, and into an unprotected ankle he is very likely to lodge a fang. But one could hardly strike over the top of a boot and cannot strike through firm cowhide. You will see the blessing of boots when you come in contact with this little imp of the sod under circumstances where boots do not come into play.

Grain used to be bound by hand. So far as any defense against the fang of this reptile is concerned, the hand and arm are naked. Now here is where one finds himself wonderfully at disadvantage. You can stamp around on the ground with feet encased in cowhide boots with the sense of perfect security; but feeling down among the weeds and stubble and grain bundles with a bare hand is another matter altogether. The "varmint" are there and you know it. They reported themselves when you swung the cradle over your acres in the forenoon. After dinner you pick your teeth (if you had anything to put between your teeth) and look at the grain and wish it were bound. But it isn't and you are to

bind it. I cannot follow the fortunes of the pioneer's afternoon in binding grain. Suffice it to say that when he does hear that zzzzzzz!!! the quickest thing he ever does in his life is the way in which he lets that bundle of grain drop. A man finds himself trying to devise ways in which he might wear boots all over. It is with a relief which only the experienced can appreciate, when the afternoon has at length worn away, that he straightens himself as he throws his last bundle to pile and takes to the brush to beat up the cattle. Upright, with a cudgel in his hand, and his faithful boots on his feet, he is once more master of the situation.

Here is an incident to which I wish to call the attention of scientists and the medical profession. My wife was looking out of the cabin door one morning in spring and saw a hen, which was hatching chickens in the corner of a fence that surrounded the cabin, lift a Massasauga in her bill and carry him some feet away from the nest. The hen then returned to the care of the chickens. Mrs. C. seized a hoe that was standing by the door, ran out and killed the rattler. Some time after, on looking out, she saw the hen herself going forth from the nest, but her gait was unsteady and wings were drooping. By the time Mrs. C. reached her the hen had fallen over and lay with head and legs outstretched as if dead. Mrs. C. looked at the head and saw that the comb had been lacerated—the rattler had struck his fangs there when he was carried forth from the nest. Instantly Mrs. C. went to the cabin, and wet perhaps a great spoonful of saleratus, and ran back to the hen and pressed it on the wounded comb. Then she got a piece of cloth and her needle and sewed the cloth so as to hold the saleratus in place. The reason for Mrs. C.'s action was that she had heard that animal poisons were acids. She acted on the supposition that an alkali would neutralize an acid. The hen lay an hour or two motionless. Then we noticed some movements. These grew more frequent and prolonged, till by and by with assistance she stood upright, but still with drooping wings. After a while she got possession of herself and then with a cluck made her way to the nest and began the care of her chickens. As a matter of fact she reared her brood to full maturity. There may be good science in this case of dealing with an animal poison.

If there is, an early application of an alkali to the bite of a rabid dog may help to reduce pain and save life.

The aforesaid lady bought a pair of boy's boots and asserted a restful fearlessness when she went forth through the brush to pick berries.

I ought to know something about the Massasauga myself. I was going past the north side of the cabin one spring day, when I saw, peering from holes under the lowermost log, the heads of two rattlers. I stepped to the place where tools were kept, took a pitchfork and in turn speared each through the head—drew them out and killed them. Thus it appeared that wife and baby and I and two rattlers, had wintered under the same roof.

Lawyers may not be regarded as specially men of Boots. But they may be interested in them and in their outcome in many ways. Trace back the work in which they are engaged and much of it will be found to originate from the force of boots. It is a regular business in some places on the frontier to hunt calves and cattle by their tracks in the early snows. Sometimes different parties in search for stock, meet over a calf in the depth of the forest. It does not take a great deal of talk for each to convince the other that he is going to claim the calf. Now let gentlemen of the legal profession prick up their ears and listen. Right here in the depths of the woods, on the question of the number of white hairs in a calf's tail, is laying the foundation of legal business. Next to an English chancery suit, a calf case is the best thing a lawyer can have in hand. No young man need despair of bread or of an opportunity to rise in his profession who boldly puts for the frontier and gets hold of a calf case. It is wonderful in what ways a man, who is "diligent in business and fervent in spirit" over a calf case, can serve it up. You can make more law suits out of a calf than you can serve dishes out of his body. Head and pluck, cutlets, steak, roasts, pot pie, are nothing to replevins trover and conversation, trespass, perjury and assault and battery suits that a shrewd lawyer, with eye attentive to the matter, can work out of him. A calf case is even better than a mining suit. Probably every twenty miles between Puget Sound and the Bay of Fundy has had its calf suit; and the effects of them are worse to root out of a neighborhood than poisoning from the blood. In fact there

is nothing that will work corruption of blood like a calf suit. I have heard a man disparage his neighbor because four generations before, in a calf suit, that neighbor's ancestor testified against the ancestor of the speaker.

These calf cases have demonstrated two principles. One is that it is quite possible for a man to be mistaken, his neighbors being judges, and in nothing more so than in reference to a calf. I have myself seen a dozen calves, that seen separately, I could swear in the exactness of geometry "coincided and formed one and the same" calf. Another principle is that if a man will "sue thee at the law" and "take away" thy calf, it is better to let him have the calf in question and give him a yoke of oxen also. I call attention to these calf cases for they are really a historic thing, a peculiar thing in legal practice and in neighborhood influence. A calf suit was recently settled in Kansas that had cost $40,000. I have not strayed from my subject either. No cowhide boots, no calf case. Without the boot the calf would have been a buffalo, sought only as game by hunters. Hunters law is very simple—"First come first served," is its summary. Does my legal friend see what he owes to the cowhide boot?

There is one character on the frontier who has never had justice done him. Of all men he is the very *avant courier* of civilization. Yet so far as I know he is a character totally unknown to literature. We have our stories about trappers and voyageurs, but this is a character as yet unlimited. But there he is, with a business of his own, a character by himself. I refer to the professional Land-Breaker—him with the long handled and long thonged whip that can reach along five yoke of oxen and cut a lazy off leader. The tendency to the division of labor soon comes. It is not a paying process for every man to do his own breaking. It requires too much capital to be put into team, and apparatus that a man wants to make use of but once. Given the hour and then will come the man. And there have been these men who have slowly walked along on the front line of civilization and made it their business to get up the teams and put up the tools to be used in the first turning of the sod. The old stage driving business nursed its peculiar characters, but they were no more peculiar than some of the professional managers of a breaking team. It

takes a peculiar kind of genius for the work. When the breaking season opens he has his team together—and such a team! It consists of old veterans from the logging camps and of young unbroken steers from the prairie. It is of all manner of material, that never worked together before and never will again after the breaking season is over. Now this team is to do its work and feed itself, so it has to be turned loose on the world at noon and at night. The genius of the breaker consists in being able to keep on the outside of those ten or twelve oxen (whose main instinct seems to be to fly apart in all directions) and have them somewhere near the plow when working time begins. There are shrewd wily old fellows among oxen. It is wonderful what wit an old breaking ox will develop. He will learn to hide like a boy. One will go behind a clump of bushes, and you will conclude to go behind after him just to keep an eye on him—but where is he? You may see him again in two days and you may not. The breaker studies the material of his team and shortly comes to know who the tough characters are in it, and on them go the bells. Now asleep or awake someway he must keep his ear on those bells. They tell him every hour of the night whether the sound they give comes from his oxen feeding or lying down or traveling. If they strike the traveling gait he must travel, for if they get a little the start and put the bell out of hearing he runs the chance of losing a forenoon's work at least, with his plow holder lying idle. I have seen a man who for weeks in a brush country never let his cattle get beyond the range of his ear so as to lose more than half a day's work in that time. And this means something too, for after their feed at two or three in the morning, they are ready for a mischievous tramp. I have looked with admiration on the man who night after night would lie down in the entry or lean-to and keep eye and ear and hand, day and night, on such ungovernable material as make up a breaking team.

Speaking of binding grain—those of us that carry the mark of the old barbed sickle on the little finger of the left hand are willing to acknowledge that nowhere has man made a greater stride in conquest over nature in this generation than in the business of gathering grain. I saw last summer in Illinois a man riding around a forty acre lot on a reaper that was shedding its bound

bundles as it went along. What a marvelous success! But there are losses for all our gains. The man was all sole alone save his horses—the only living thing—I do not believe there was a chipping sparrow on that quarter section with him. It had a doleful look. Let us look back to the day of the barbed, hand sickle. Perhaps there were three acres to be reaped. There would be three or four men and as many boys at work on it. At ten o'clock and three hours by the sun, they would all lie down together under the apple trees and eat gingerbread and cheese and baked apples which the girls brought out from the house; drink cider from a jug and water from the runlet—runlet? What is that? A small stream of water? O, bless you, no, but a wooden keg holding about a gallon, hooped from both ends up to the bunghole and painted red with what was left in the brush after painting the ox-yokes. The reapers resting under the apple trees! One of the blessedest forms of social life known to man, and giving one of the best privileges of communing with nature!

I ran across something from Theocritus (B. C. 270) the other day, that puts before one what a boyhood of a generation still living can parallel with experience.

"Above our heads elms and tall poplars rustle;
And a pure fount hard by of sacred water
Came trickling from its cave with soothing murmur.
In the thick boughs the shrill cicadas jingling
Plied their loud work; and from the distant thicket
The thrush piped loudly. Overhead the sky lark
Sung, and the painted goldfinch; and the turtle
Plaintively coo'd; and the yellow bees were humming
Hither and thither round the running water.
There was a goodly smell around, of summer
And her rich gifts that decked the golden autumn.
Ripe pears were at our feet, and blushing apples
Fell on each side, and with the bloomed plum bending
Thick branches swept the ground."

My Illinois farmer was alone on his reaper and binder—and in the not long distance was a mighty insane asylum!

It is with reverence that I look at the contents of a cobbler's shop in our mining towns. A pair of those iron-bradded soles challenges as much respect as the Kearsarge laid up in ordinary

after sending the Alabama to the bottom of the Sea. We take out our tens of millions annually from our mines. How much of the ore is there that has not been lifted over bradded soles? And yet one asks—does the owner of these boots wear bradded soles against gambling in his out of work hours—against alcoholic drink—against neglect of home and its duties? These bradded soles ought to be an inspiration in efficiency in all the high lines of his being.

That brings us to a final thought. Nature has made distinctions in the human race. Childhood and maturity, and the sex division are older than society. Provision must be made for such distinctions. Then in the struggle for existence, society divides and sub-divides into various segments, and of this process the end is not yet. New organizations will spring up demanding privileges. Here is labor pressing for union. As a tap to strengthen her hitherto altogether too flimsy footgear woman wants the ballot. These are but samples of the forward pressing of the race to secure efficiency in industrial necessity. How shall we meet such conditions? Can we find a general principle which may be applied in all instances? Desires will be granted if it is perceived that they are altruistic as well as egoistic—if they are not exclusively selfish but seek the general good. Man is, or is to be ultimately, moral and settle all things by moral considerations. Morality—the right—is the court of final assize.

MR. CHARLES E. L. HOLMES, OF WATERBURY, CONN.

Who was commissioned by Gov. William A. Buckingham, of Connecticut, as colonel of the 23rd regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. The photo from which this picture is made was kindly loaned by a member of the family.

Recollections of a Half Century and More

By Andrew M. Sherman, Morristown, N. J.

VII

From Boyhood to Young Manhood—Recollections of the Civil War.

I HAVE a story to relate, not a "fish story," however, but a *clam story,* and without further "beating about the bush" I proceed to say: That in the spring or summer of 1860 Captain Hammond, a retired sea captain, invited my eldest brother, Horatio Nelson, with whom I lived, and a young man named Orlando Wakeley, of Huntington Landing, to go over to Long Island and assist him in getting a boat load of soft shell clams—or long clams, as they were also called—with the understanding that the "crew" should have a share of "the catch." My brother took me along with him.

We drove to Stratford Point on Long Island Sound, taking with us cooking utensils, and such articles of food as we should need to supplement the clams and fish we expected to procure as our principal diet.

At Stratford Point we found Captain Hammond's yacht, a sailing craft about thirty-five feet in length; and, boarding her we "set sail" with the owner of the yacht at the helm, for Port Jefferson, which, after a delightful sail of sixteen miles across the Sound we reached in about three hours.

Port Jefferson was then, as near as I am now able to recall, a scattered village of a few hundred inhabitants—possibly a thousand.

After digging enough clams for our supper that day and for

breakfast next day we cooked and ate our supper with a keen relish.

We had taken with us bedding and bedclothes and with these we made ourselves as comfortable as possible for the night on board the yacht.

Not to weary the reader with further details I will say that we remained in Port Jefferson two or three days, enjoying a veritable feast of fish and clams and the supplementary food we took from home, at the end of which time we inventoried our stock of clams dug from the clean, white sand of the snug bay and ascertained that we had twenty bushels of the finest clams I ever saw together. Many of those clams—now I trust my readers will not say this *is* a "fish story"—were fully five inches in length. These clams were placed in the hold of the yacht.

Having accomplished the end for which we crossed the Sound we started one morning at about seven o'clock for Stratford Point and home; but we had gone but a mile or two from land when the sea was so rough that Captain Hammond concluded it would be imprudent to proceed further, so we "put back" to Port Jefferson, where we remained all that day. At about seven o'clock in the evening we made another start for the Connecticut shore, but we found the sea was rougher than in the morning; but it was concluded that we must keep on, which we did. The wind was blowing "a gale" from the east, and Captain Hammond, with the dexterity of an experienced sailor, took a double reef in the large sail and if my memory serves me took in the jib.

The sea was running high; indeed, it seemed to me at the time that the waves were mast-high. With Captain Hammond "at the helm" I had no fear; but I was enormously seasick!

Instead of running straight across the Sound, which would have kept the yacht in the trough of the sea and very likely resulted in furnishing the fish with a feast of human flesh, our level-headed helmsman tacked diagonally across the waves.

Young Wakeley soon crawled into the cabin-like opening at the bow of the yacht and scarcely showed himself during the larger part of the trip homeward. Once in a while, despite Captain Hammond's skillful handling of the yacht, a sea would break over the gunwale of the craft and wet us almost to the skin. But

we kept on—and after an exciting sail of two hours we "cast anchor" at Stratford Point.

Next day we were at our homes; and if we hadn't a big "fish story" to relate we certainly had a *big clam story* to tell our friends. And we had, also, the recollection of a rare outing. The clams, or rather the share of the clams, that came to my brother's house, didn't "go a-begging," I assure you.

Captain Hammond realized a handsome sum from the clams he sold to his acquaintances.

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States in the early summer of 1860 was soon followed by the most momentous and exciting political campaign ever conducted in this country; and as the day of election drew near the excitement became deeper and more widespread. In the attempt to describe the excitement with which the very air was filled human language utterly fails.

Among my earliest recollections of the political campaign commencing soon after the nomination of Lincoln are the political discussions in which two of my older brothers frequently engaged, the eldest of whom was then a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat and the younger a newly-made and enthusiastic Lincoln Republican. I was then about sixteen years of age. So heated did those discussions sometimes become—they usally took place in the home of my Democratic brother—that it seemed to my boyish imagination that the excited contestants would certainly come to blows; but somewhow reason kept her seat and no blows were exchanged.

As the campaign progressed men of the opposing political parties gathered almost daily on the street corners and in the village stores and excitedly discussed the vital issues involved.

It was quite generally conceded that the election of Lincoln to the presidency would result in war between the two sections of the country already politically arrayed against each other.

During the summer and autumn of 1860 I derived great pleasure from attending the drills in their armory on Main Street and in witnessing their street parades of "the Derby Blues," of which George Dana Russell was captain, Sanford E. Chaffee was First Lieutenant and Napoleon Lemareaux was Second Lieutenant. "The Derby Blues" numbered, rank and file, about 82 members

and on nearly every evening in the week except Sundays this company assembled in their armory for drill.

The street parades of "The Derby Blues" in command of its highly efficient officers and the prospect of civil war aroused an interest in the hearts of some of the boys of my own age in Birmingham which resulted in the organization of a spear company, so called because each member of the company, of which there were about forty, carried on their street parades a long, round, smooth wooden stick with a gilded spear point at one end. Of this spear company I was chosen first lieutenant. We not only paraded the streets of Birmingham, but once, at least, we marched to Ansonia, two miles distant, returning by way of Upper Derby and Lower Derby, as these sections of the township were then known; and from the latter section we marched across the bridge spanning the Naugatuck River and up into Birmingham by way of "the causeway."

The notice attracted by the spear company as it passed along the line of march was very gratifying to its members.

There is one circumstance in connection with one of our street parades in Birmingham which is as fresh in my mind as an occurrence of only a week ago; and if any other member of our spear company, beside the writer, is now living, I'll venture the remark, that the circumstance I am about to relate is distinctly remembered by such surviving member or members.

As the spear company on the occasion referred to was passing from Main Street up through Minerva Street the officers of the company espied Charles L. Russell, a former commander of "The Derby Blues," on the sidewalk, intently watching us. This was the signal to the officers to have the word passed through the ranks for the members to "brace up" and do their "level best;" which they promptly did. The fine appearance and excellent marching of the company called forth an exclamation of approval from Captain Russell. To say that our caps at once fairly glistened with "new feathers" as the result of Captain Russell's complimentary words would be superfluous. It was a proud day for the members of the Birmingham spear company. Of the members of this company I'll venture to say that about one-half sooner or later joined the Union army in defense of Old Glory.

In the exciting political campaign which resulted in the election of Lincoln to the presidency of the United States, my brother of whom I have spoken as having engaged in political discussions with my eldest brother, became identified with the wide-awakes, commanded by Captain Charles L. Russell; and the frequent street parades of that unique organization were a deeply interesting feature of those stirring days of long ago. With the growing interest of a boy of sixteen years of age I witnessed those evening parades of the wide-awakes in that truly momentous campaign. In their cape uniforms and with each member of the organization bearing in his hand a lighted torch the scene presented was of a character to strongly impress my boyish imagination and send me to my bed with a whole troop of burning thoughts rushing through my brain.

The full significance of those thrilling days was, of course, only faintly understood by a boy of sixteen; but there were many, however, who thus early even in our country's history clearly foresaw the awful civil conflict that so soon afterward burst like a terrific thunder storm upon the country and before its termination deluged its soil with some of the best blood of the land! The significance of those days fifty and four years ago which I did not then understand I have since come to estimate at something like their full meaning.

Ah! Those were, indeed, momentous days—epoch-making days—the like of which this country may not, let us sincerely hope, ever again witness. And yet, if come they must and come they did, I would not have missed them—nor would others who personally witnessed the stirring events and experienced the thrilling emotions of those days!

On the evening of April 19, 1861, only five days, as the reader will remember, after the assault on Fort Sumter, a war meeting was held in Nathan's Hall in Birmingham. I was then sixteen years of age and on the 5th of the following May I would be seventeen.

At that war meeting there were nearly a thousand persons present, the hall being packed from platform to vestibule, inclusive of both; and some, indeed, were sitting or standing on the long flight of stairs leading from the street up to the hall.

Ringing resolutions of allegiance to the government at Washington were unanimously adopted. Patriotic speeches were made by William B. Wooster, Esq., one of the leading lawyers of Connecticut; Thomas Burlock, a prominent business man of Birmingham; Robert N. Bassett, another local business man; Captain Charles L. Russell, of the state militia and Dr. Ambrose E. Beardsley, a prominent local physician. Edward N. Shelton, the leading businessman of Birmingham, presided over the meeting. The echoes of those thrilling speeches I can almost hear after the lapse of fifty years and more.

A liberal sum of money for war purposes was pledged—three thousand dollars was the amount, and this was increased to five thousand dollars next day.

An enlistment paper was opened for recruits for a company to proceed, in due course, with its regiment, to the seat of hostilities in the south.

Without stopping to consider the matter of my age I went to the platform and boldly affixed my signature to the enlistment roll. One of my older brothers, George W., who had also signed the roll, and was on the platform, quietly whispered a few words to the chairman of the meeting, and, presto! my name was promptly erased from the list of recruits.

On ascertaining the action of the chairman of the meeting I immediately mounted the deep casing of one of the large windows and gave expression to my keen disappointment at not being permitted to enlist in what was my maiden patriotic speech.

Before the war meeting closed nearly an entire company of recruits had volunteered for service in the gathering Union army.

This company was duly organized and officered, George Dana Russell being put in command of the company; and, bearing with it the hearty Godspeeds of the people of Birmingham it proceeded to the seat of war with the regiment—the Second Volunteer Infantry—and with this regiment it participated with credit to the state in the first battle of Bull Run, Virginia. Of this company, my brother, George W., now of Lynbrook, N. Y., was a member.

Of the Second Connecticut Volunteer Infantry Charles L. Russell was the efficient Adjutant.

Mention has been made of "The Derby Blues," and this seems the most suitable time and place to say that this company furnished for the Civil War four colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, four captains and several lieutenants.

Of the colonels furnished by "The Derby Blues" there were Charles L. Russell, John L. Chatfield, Ledyard Colburn and Elisha S. Kellogg. Frank Hawkins rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the Tenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry after serving four years in the Union army; he died, in a military hospital in New York. Of the captains there were George D. Russell, Thomas Gilbert, Sandford E. Chaffee and James Foley. Of the lieutenants I can only recall one, Napoleon Lemareaux.

Charles L. Russell was colonel of the Tenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry; he was instantly killed by a bullet from a Confederate sharpshooter at the battle of Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

John L. Chatfield was colonel of the Eighth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry; he died at home in consequence of arduous services at the front.

Ledyard Colburn was colonel of the Twelfth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry; he died in Louisiana after the close of the Civil War.

Elisha S. Kellogg was colonel of the Nineteenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry; he was killed at the battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia. When found, his body, "riddled with bullets" was lying on top of the abattis in front of the Confederate earthworks.

Captain George D. Russell commanded a company of the Second Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in the first battle of Bull Run, Virginia; he died at home after the close of the Civil War.

Thomas Gilbert was the commander of Company A of the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery; he also survived the Civil War.

Sanford E. Chaffee was the commander of Company B. of the Twentieth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry; after creditable service in the Union army he returned home and has for several terms been postmaster at Derby, formerly Birmingham, Connecticut.

James Foley was captain of a company in the Twentieth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry.

Napoleon Lemareaux was a lieutenant in the Second Connecticut Volunteer Infantry and took part in the first battle of Bull Run, Virginia. He died at home.

Although because of my insufficient age I had not been permitted to be among the first troops from my resident state to engage in the Civil War I waited, not always patiently, I have to confess, for the arrival of the time when the age consideration would, in my case, be obliterated, and I too, could don the Union blue.

Meanwhile I read with increasing avidity the daily newspapers and in that way kept myself well informed concerning the movements of the Union and Confederate armies in their various and widespread fields of operation.

As might be expected, this omniverous reading of the daily press only fanned into brighter flame the ardent desire of my heart to become as soon as possible a part of the Union forces struggling for the preservation of national unity.

How well do I remember, as if it was only yesterday, the intense excitement with which the very atmosphere of the north was charged in those early days of the Civil War!

How vivid is my recollection of the elation of the people at home in the "Nutmeg State" over the successes of the Union forces; and of the awful depression following the reverses suffered by our armies, which in the opening years of the war were so frequent, and at times, so appalling!

Many times during those anxious days I was almost impelled to enter the service regardless of my insufficient age and of the entreaties of my friends.

My anxiety to enlist was intensified by the fact that several of my boy chums, somewhat older than I, 'tis true, were donning the Union blue and hastening to the seat of war.

Chafing, however, like a three-year-old colt in harness, I remained at home until I could regularly and with the approval of my friends become one of Lincoln's boys in blue.

On the 5th of May, 1862, I was eighteen years of age; and, in the month of July following I enlisted and was duly assigned to company F of a so-called nine months regiment—the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. I say a "so-called nine

months regiment" because this regiment was in the service a year and three days.

Of this regiment Charles E. L. Holmes, of Waterbury, Connecticut, was commissioned colonel; Charles W. Wordin, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, lieutenant-colonel, and David H. Miller, of Redding, Connecticut, major.

David T. Johnson, of Ansonia, Connecticut, was commissioned captain of the company F, of which I became a member.

Charles E. L. Holmes was the son of Israel Holmes and Sarah Judd, daughter of Samuel Judd, of Waterbury, Connecticut. Israel Holmes was the pioneer and organizer of the brass industry in Waterbury. Charles E. L. Holmes was born May 15, 1832, in the old Captain Samuel Judd house on West Main Street, Waterbury, Connecticut. Prior to the opening of the Civil War he was associated with his father in the brass manufacturing business in his native town.

Charles W. Wordin was the son of William Wordin and Lucy Mallory, and was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, July 1, 1816. Prior to the commencement of the Civil War he was engaged in the jewelry business in his native town. Of the "City Guard" of Bridgeport he was a lieutenant before the outbreak of the Civil War.

David H. Miller at the outbreak of the Civil War was a resident of Redding, Connecticut.

Among the memories of our sojourn at Camp Terry, in New Haven, Connecticut, which camp was situated a mile or more to the southward of the Green, are the daily drillings of the awkward squads, the echoes of the "left!" "right!" "left!" "right!" of which I can still hear; the horror of our discovery, in the first bean soup served us by the company cook—Charles R. Buckingham, now of Ansonia, Connecticut,—of what "we boys" verily believed were tiny creeping worms, but which were really only the eyes of the nutritious white bean which subsequently became one of the mainstays of the boys in blue; the company and regimental drills and parades the latter of which were often witnessed by our sweethearts and friends; the handsomely uniformed field officers on their spirited horses riding up and down the regimental line—Holmes, and Wordin and Miller,

colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major, respectively; the frequent runnings of the camp guard, chiefly down near the water's edge, and the clandestine visits to the "Elm City" where "the boys" could and did see something more "of life" than most of them had been accustomed to seeing at home; the scarcely less harzardous returns to camp at unseasonable hours of the night, and the extreme difficulty of evading the none-too-vigilant guard and reaching our tents without discovery and arrest; the comforts and luxuries brought into camp from home by loving hands, by which our strange outdoor life was made more tolerable; the difficulty with which "the boys" were induced to put out the lights and cease their not always musical chatterings, at the nightly sounding of "taps," and, the gradual discipline under which the regiment was brought by its, for the most part, considerate and capable officers, not a few of whom had for several years been actively identified with the efficient state militia.

On the 17th of November, 1862, the Twenty-third regiment broke camp at New Haven, and with about 850 officers and men took the steamboat "Elm City" for New York.

We landed at Williamsburg, and from thence marched to the Centerville Race-course, in Jamaica, a distance of about ten miles. Here we pitched our tents on the race-course grounds.

At this point, named "Camp Buckingham," in honor of Connecticut's splendid war governor, William A. Buckingham, General Banks, according to common report, was assembling the troops for an expedition southward, the exact destination of which, however, was unknown, except in Washington.

At "Camp Buckingham" there were five nine months Connecticut regiments rendezvoused—the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth and Twenty-eighth.

On the Centerville Race-course we first experienced the rigors of camp life in cold weather; and there was plenty of grumbling, I assure you. A single specimen of grumbling indulged in by the boys is given in the following extract from a letter written home:

"The excessive dirt in the food, and the excessive moisture in the lodging, form frequent subjects of complaints. All experience has shown that sleeping or trying to sleep in three inches of

water in the midst of November is not conducive to good health, temper or morals."

I have in my possession a letter written with lead pencil some portions of which are now so faint as to require the use of a strong magnifying glass to read and decipher; indeed, one line is almost entirely obliterated from frequent folding of the sheet—and little wonder, for this letter was written nearly fifty-four years ago. From this letter I make the following quotations:

"Camp Buckingham, Jamaica, N. Y., November, 1862. Once more I take pencil in hand to write you a letter. . . . About 8 o'clock (on the morning of the 17th) I got my canteen and haversack and we received orders to prepare to move. We struck our tent in the forenoon about eleven or twelve o'clock, and, after waiting round we were called into line about two o'clock. (Here occurs the almost obliterated line mentioned above) and then we started for the boat, and arrived about three o'clock, I think. After staying, or waiting about an hour and a half we went aboard the boat. There was a great rushing for the berths, and I finally got a good bed. . . . I ate my supper and retired. . . . I slept well. Some of the boys sat up all night playing cards. We stopped once in the night, and in the morning I found that it was at Hell Gate. I rose in the morning at half-past five and ate some breakfast, then I went on deck and found the boat had stopped between New York and Brooklyn. We turned about and then started for Williamsburg. The orderly called us into line to march us off the boat and then we started for the shore. Co. F was the second to come off the boat. We marched up the street a long way to give room for the other companies that were behind us. We sat on the stoops and fences and some went into houses and got their breakfasts; others got coffee. The ladies threw out apples from the windows, and then there was a scrabbling! I did not try to get any for I had some in my haversack. We stopped three times and each time the boys were treated to coffee. We had our breakfast, given, I suppose, by the city authorities. Finally we got started and after we had gone about three miles it commenced to rain a little. . . . We rested four times on the march. It is ten miles from the boat to this camp. It is probably the longest march we shall have with our knap-

sacks; some of the companies had them carried on trucks. By the time we reached the camp ground it rained hard, and when we got into line the captain took us to the place where our tents were to be pitched. In all the rain we put up our tent, and by the time we got through the mud was three inches deep. I never saw such a mudhole! We got some straw and put in our tent; but the water was running into the tent. I went about a quarter of a mile and got two bundles of cornstalks to lie on. Toward evening I went to a tavern near by with several of the boys to get dry, but we remained only a short time. I went to bed at half-past six, for I felt sick. I was very sick in the night. . . . My feet were soaking wet, and are wet now. I am on guard today, but there being another corporal on with me I shall not do much. There are four regiments in this camp, the 23d, 25th and 26th Connecticut Volunteers and the 141st New York, Germans. We are encamped on the Centerville Race-course. Our tent is more like a hog pen than like a tent, but we must endure it now. . . . Today is quite pleasant. . . . Accept this from Yours truly, A. M. Sherman. P. S. . . . Write soon and direct your letter to A. M. Sherman, Centerville Race-course, Jamaica, N. Y., 23d Regt. Vols. Co. F."

Among the incidents of our brief sojourn at "Camp Buckingham" was the receipt by the author, on the day before Thanksgiving, of a good-sized wooden box from two sisters residing in the vicinity of Boston, filled with delicacies. When the box was started from the donors it contained, as I could only infer from general appearances, sandwiches, buttered biscuits, cake, cookies, crullers, mince pies, cheese and fruit. When I opened the box in camp I found to my great surprise and disappointment a most strange admixture of all the articles mentioned. It was, indeed, a box of mush, from which I was able to pick a few only of the various articles so tenderly placed by willing hands in the box at its place of departure. It was not until several years afterward that I informed my sisters of the decidedly mixed condition of the Thanksgiving delicacies sent me at "Camp Buckingham."

On the 30th of November, 1862, the Twenty-third and Twenty-eighth Regiments of Connecticut Volunteers broke camp at the Centerville Race course and marched buoyantly down Atlantic

Avenue, Brooklyn, to the East River. Here, seven companies of the Twenty-third and seven companies of the Twenty-eighth Regiments, numbering about a thousand men in all, embarked on the steamer "Che-Kiang," or, in our language, "Sea-King."

Whither we were going none of us certainly knew; it was whispered among the boys that we were to form a part of the military expedition to be commanded by General Banks, and that was our only clew.

Company F of the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteers, of which I was a member, was among the troops that embarked on the "Che-Kiang" on that bleak, cold day in November, 1862.

Barring the usual seasickness the first few days of the voyage to the southward were pleasant, and to most of the boys the novelty of being on the great, blue ocean was fascinating; but on the 5th of December, when off Cape Hatteras, a terrific storm burst upon the "Che-Kiang." "The vessel"—I now quote the words of another—"with its freight of a thousand men, refused to obey the helm, and wallowed helplessly in the trough of the sea, shivering under the mountainous waves; while flash after flash of lurid lightning revealed the terrors of the situation."

Men trembled who never trembled before; men knelt in fervent prayer on the sea-washed decks of the "Che-Kiang" who had not, perhaps, prayed since the innocent days of "Now I lay me down to sleep;" and many whose lives had been far from exemplary vowed future obedience, if only the storm would abate and the imperiled vessel reach her destination in safety.

Alas! how few of these solemn vows were remembered, or, if remembered, were performed.

The "Che-Kiang" with her precious human freight weathered the storm; and after an uneventful voyage of a few days touched at the Tortugas at the southwestern extremity of Florida.

From the Tortugas the steamer made a quick passage through the placid waters of the Gulf of Mexico, with its myriad of porpoises, which seemed to be rolling round and round in the blue waters like so many wheels, but which were simply coming to the surface of the water, showing for a moment a small portion of the back, and then suddenly disappearing. To men unaccustomed to the sight it was one of extraordinary interest.

At Ship Island, in the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, the men on the "Che-Kiang" disembarked. Here they remained long enough to recover somewhat from the effects of their rough sea voyage.

The following description of Ship Island, written home by the Rev. Richard Wheatley, chaplain of the Twenty-eighth Connecticut Volunteers, will convey to the reader some idea of it:

"This low sandbank is the creation of the restless Mexican Gulf. It boasts but little vegetation. A few grasses, cacti, flowering herbs and shrubs, and some stunted pines, exhaust the list. Nor is the fauna more extensive than the flora. A dilapidated cow and an untimely calf, some splendid horses and refractory mules, ugly alligators, venomous spiders and spiteful mosquitoes would chiefly claim the attention for the naturalist. The encircling waves swarm with fish."

Re-embarking on board steamer the men of the Twenty-third and Twenty-eighth Connecticut Volunteers proceeded by way of the Mississippi River to New Orleans.

It was on the 17th of December, 1862, that these two regiments pitched their tents at Camp Parapet, which was one of the outer defences of the Crescent City, on the north.

One of the peculiarities of Camp Parapet, situated on the bank of the swiftly-flowing Mississippi River, was the great suddenness with which thunder storms came up in the summer time. To illustrate this it may be said, that if a soldier was only a short distance away from camp, and the usual signs of a storm made their appearance in the heavens, he would have to do some tall hustling to get back to the shelter of his tent before the rain would begin to come down in torrents and perhaps drench him to the skin. Many a soldier did get such a drenching before he became accustomed to the ways of the region as regards thunder storms.

On the 11th of January, 1863, the seven companies of the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteers which had taken passage on the "Che-Kiang," in command of Colonel Holmes, crossed the Mississippi River at Algiers, where they took the cars on what was then the Opelousas and Great Western railroad to Brashear City, distant about ninety miles almost due west from New Orleans.

The Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteers was expected to join

General Weitzel in an attack on the Confederate gunboat "J. A. Cotton," up the Teche; but for some reason they did not do so.

Brashear City (now Morgan City) is situated on an island formed by Lake Chestimache, Bayou Boeuf and the Atchafalaya River. During the Civil war it was a village containing perhaps thirty or forty buildings of all kinds. The population could not, I imagine, have been to exceed six hundred in its most prosperous days.

This place with its high-sounding name had been General Banks' depot of supplies for his entire army, and a large quantity of military stores had been gathered there. In an immense frame building which stood on the shore of Berwick Bay a million and a half dollars worth of government stores, so it was said, had been piled.

When the bulk of General Banks' troops went to Port Hudson to take part in the now famous siege of that Confederate stronghold the officers of many of the regiments which were to engage in the siege left their personal baggage in an old sugar house in the lower part of the village. The private soldiers, also—some of them, at least—left their knapsacks at Brashear City in one of the old sugar houses. This private and government property must, of course, be faithfully guarded and protected from capture by the Confederates who, in small bands, swarmed western Louisiana.

To these facts add another, that Brashear City was the military key to western Louisiana and hence of great strategic importance and one can readily see that it was no insignificant duty that was assigned to the Union troops occupying that point.

On the 4th of March, 1863, the three companies of our regiment which did not take passage on the "Che-Kiang" at Brooklyn, N. Y., on the 30th of November, 1862, arrived at New Orleans. These companies were in command of Major David H. Miller, of the Twenty-third Regiment Connecticut Volunteers.

The following extract from an official publication entitled: "The Twenty-third Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion," will be found of special interest in the present connection: "Here—at Camp Buckingham—the regiment—the Twenty-third—remained until November 30th when it

was marched to Brooklyn and embarked on the river steamer 'Che-Kiang.' Owing to the crowded state of the vessel, Companies A, H and I, with two companies of other regiments, under command of Major David H. Miller, were transferred to the Park Barracks, New York. . . . That portion of the regiment under command of Major Miller was held in New York until December 30th, when it embarked on the ship "Planter," and was wrecked January 14, 1863, on Stranger's Key, Bahama Islands. After obtaining assistance from Nassau, N. P., this detachment arrived at New Orleans March 4th."

Through the kindness of Mrs. Alice M. Buckingham, of Milford, Connecticut, the following extracts from a letter addressed to the family of the writer are presented; they give the reader a brief but graphic account of the shipwreck of the "Planter":

"KEY WEST, FLORIDA, FEB. 5th, 1863.

"DEAR FATHER, MOTHER AND SISTERS:

"I have at last arrived at a civilized part of the world. I have been living for a while in the British possessions, an island called 'Stranger's Key.' You have probably heard of the shipwreck and loss of the ship 'Planter.' I will give you a sketch of the time since we left New York. . . .

"Monday, Jan. 12th—Went to bed after supper last night, and got up this morning feeling rather badly; but it was all right before night.

"Tuesday, Jan. 13th—Took a walk on the quarter-deck this morning; saw groups of flying fish and sea robins, as well as some flights of birds. All quiet during the day.

"Wednesday, Jan. 14th—Was awakened very early this morning by a harsh, rumbling sound, which I expected was the grating of the ship's keel on the sand. Shortly afterwards, a heavy shock that fairly shook the ship from stem to stern. It shook me out on deck in double-quick time, and as I was putting on my clothing, Major Miller rushed in and says: 'My God! we have struck on the rocks!' I went out on deck; everything was in confusion. Anxious looks and scared visages met you at every turn, hurrying about the deck; the captain very anxious and excited, hollered to the carpenter to sound the pumps. Carpenter shouted! 'Four and half feet of water, sir.'

"Oh! Lord! the ship is lost! exclaimed the captain.

"All this time the ship was bumping on the rocks; planks started from the bottom and floated off, and the water was gaining in the hold all the time.

"We soon saw an island in the distance, and I felt more easy in my mind; the prospect of a long voyage in an open boat, crowded with men, or perhaps making our way to land with only the help of a spar or plank over the rough breakers was not at all a pleasing prospect.

"At about nine and a half o'clock the boats were lowered and all ready for the men to embark; and after every man had left the ship Lieutenant Stevens and myself embarked and reached the shore in safety, taking nothing but our blankets, but the rest of our goods were brought off by the crew the next day.

"Our passage to the shore was a perilous one. I expected every minute to strike on the reefs, which came almost out of the water. The breakers were passed with much difficulty, and we finally arrived at the shore. When within about fifty feet the boat struck a rock, staving in her side and filling the boat with water. We then threw ourselves into the water and were washed to the shore. I tell you I felt thankful when my feet were planted on the coral rocks which the island is composed of.

"Water and provisions were the next things to look after. Three boats, after much trouble, brought off the most needed articles. In the afternoon a sail hove in sight. We hoisted a signal of distress; she saw it and came for the island. We found her to be a wrecker from Green Turtle Key, about fifty miles distant from us. They informed us that water was at the other end of the island, about five miles distant; so we moved up there and built houses of palm leaves and sticks. The weather is as hot here as it is in Connecticut in July and August.

"Well, we had hard times on Stranger's Key, living on raw pork and hardtack, with very poor and brackish water. We were on the island eighteen days; long enough to eat all the provisions we had saved with the help of the wreckers.

"We made a dish of hardtack and pork, called 'scouse'; traded pork with the negroes from Green Turtle Key for sweet potatoes and oranges.

"I will now close with the promise that if my life is spared I will write more particulars. Direct your letters to

"Lieut. J. W. Buckingham,
"Co. I, 23d Regt. C. V.
"Gen. Banks' Expedition."

Companies A, H and I, which, as we have seen, were shipwrecked, rejoined the regiment at Brashear City on the 11th of January, 1863. The occasion was made one of rejoicing.

At Brashear City the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteers re-

mained, performing guard duty, until the 9th of February, when the regiment was ordered to strike tents and march to the railroad. The various companies were then distributed as a guard along the whole length of the Opelousas and Great Western railroad from Berwick Bay to Jefferson, nearly opposite the Crescent City.

Headquarters were established at La Fourche Crossing, about thirty miles to the east of Brashear City.

The different companies of the regiment were posted as follows: Company E, Captain Lewis Northrop in command, at Bayou Ramos. Company A, Captain Alfred Wells, at Bayou Boeuf. Company K, Captain S. G. Bailey, at Tigerville. Company I, Captain W. H. May, at Terrebonne. Company B, Captain James H. Jenkins, at Bayou La Fourche. Company H, Captain A. D. Hopkins, at Raceland. Company C, Captain Julius Sanford, at Bayou des Allemands. Company F, Captain David T. Johnson, at Boutte Station. Company G, Captain G. S. Crofut, at St. Charles and Company D, Lieutenant S. M. Nichols, at Jefferson.

About the 1st of March, 1863, Companies E and I were ordered to headquarters and Company A to reinforce Captain Sanford at Bayou des Allemands. By the 1st of April Company B was also transferred to Napoleonville, south of Danaldsonville and Company A to Labadieville, still further south.

Boutte Station to which Company F was ordered was situated about thirty miles to the westward of New Orleans, and was so designated because of the principal man of the settlement, a Mr. Boutte. Of the sojourn of Company F at Boutte Station I will tell the readers of *Americana* something.

The station consisted of about a dozen buildings all told. The former residence of Mr. Boutte was occupied by the captain and other commissioned officers of our company. The men for the most part, occupied the other and smaller buildings; a few, however, lived in tents.

I had very comfortable quarters in one of the smaller dwelling-houses; comfortable, that is to say, so far as the quarters were concerned. The mosquitoes, however, were so numerous and troublesome during the nights that the only way we could sleep

at all was by inclosing our bunks with mosquito netting. The extreme closeness of the air in these netting-inclosed bunks on a hot night in the summer time can perhaps be imagined. I sometimes debated the question in my mind which was the greater evil, the mosquitoes or the stifling air of the inclosed bunks.

But the mosquitoes were not the only pests at Boutte Station; it was no uncommon thing for the boys to be awakened in the night by a slimy lizard crawling across the face or neck, or some other part of the body. Some of these lizards were said to be poisonous, while others were considered harmless; and after we boys had learned to distinguish the one from the other the lizard problem was considerably simplified. Nevertheless, I very much prefer sleeping and living in a part of the country where lizards are unknown.

The chameleons of Louisiana, a species of lizard, I believe, were very interesting to the Yankee boys from the north; and these chameleons abounded at Boutte Station. The boys often caught them and watched them as they assumed the color of the object on which they were placed, a leaf or stick, perchance; and more than one letter written home from camp contained a detailed account of these strange little reptiles and their ways.

But not by night only were the mosquitoes troublesome at Boutte Station; along toward evening, especially, they were a veritable torment—so much so, indeed, that while on guard or picket after sunset the boys had to completely inclose the face and neck in mosquito netting. It really seemed to me some evenings that I should be eaten alive by these infernal insects, for, notwithstanding the netting the mosquitoes were very active with their proboscides.

The recollection of my experience with mosquitoes while on guard in the evening is made the more vivid by the fact that one evening when these insects were unusually troublesome, and while walking my beat with my musket in the most comfortable position possible, General Banks and one or two of his staff suddenly appeared. Upon being informed who it was that had so suddenly made their appearance I at once brought my musket to a present arms with an explanation of my seeming lack of respect for superior officers. Every word of my explanation was punctuated

with a violent stroke of first one hand and then the other at the mosquitoes which seemed to be taking a most contemptible advantage of my preoccupation with my distinguished guests.

I shall never forget the remark of General Banks as he watched me in my frantic efforts to defend myself from the ferocious assaults of the Louisiana mosquitoes:

"Never mind about presenting arms, my boy; make yourself as comfortable as possible," and with these words he and his staff officers moved away, all the time, however, slapping right and left to escape being eaten alive by the busy insects swarming about them.

But mosquitoes and lizards were not by any means the only nor the largest pests we encountered in the "Lowlands of Louisiana;" alligators were plentiful and sometimes not only troublesome but dangerous. They were so silent in their movements, and their color seemed to blend so compeltely with the color of their environment that usually before one was aware of their presence they suddenly appeared as though they had then and there sprang into existence. If an alligator's fast had not recently been broken there was good reason for the boys to look well to their means of self-defense.

I distinctly remember that one day while on guard near an old, abandoned farm wagon a short distance from the camp (it was on the apology for a road leading to the Mississippi River), an alligator suddenly appeared in the roadway, having stealthily emerged from the near-by woods. It was the first alligator of any considerable dimensions I had seen in the south; and I am free to confess that I was not a little startled at the sight of the ugly looking animal. He seemed to be coming straight for me, Andrew M. Sherman. As he half walked and half crawled toward me he seemed a most hideous object. I discharged my musket. This, as I anticipated, brought several of the boys from camp with their muskets. It took them but a moment to grasp the situation; but it took a good deal longer than that for us to place that ugly alligator *hors du combat.* We fired bullet after bullet into the animal's seemingly impervious body; we beat him about the head with out musket stocks; we ran our bayonets into him; we pelted him with the biggest stones the region afforded,

but these modes of attack were apparently ineffectual. At length, one of the more thoughtful of the boys sent a well-directed bullet into his savage eye and another into his gaping mouth, and our efforts were soon rewarded by seeing the huge animal slowly yield up the ghost. Of course, we had to measure him, and he measured, from the tip of his tail to the tip of his nose about nine feet. His carcass was dragged off into the adjacent woods and there left for future inspection by the incredulous.

I must say a word about the water we had to drink at Boutte Station. It was what was familiarly known as "tank water." As the name indicates, it was rain water that had been caught in an immense wooden tank. Some of these tanks held several hundred gallons. This tank water, after standing for a few weeks, became so foul as to be unfit for a human being to drink; indeed, no farmer would for a moment think of offering it to his cows to drink. And yet, we had to drink it, except we walked a distance of four miles to the Mississippi River, and enjoyed the luxury of a drink from the "Father of Waters." This we occasionally did; of which more will be said. The tank water which was of necessity our regular beverage, aside, of course, from coffee, after remaining in the wooden tank for a few weeks, became filled with what are sometimes termed "wrigglers" (this may not be the scientific name for them, but it is, however, a highly suggestive one), a tiny insect of remarkable rapidity of movement.

Once in a while we boys would climb up the side of the tank on a ladder or box, so as to look over the top into the water, and we would then strike with a stick or stone on the outside of the tank, and behold! the water would suddenly become alive with the wrigglers! It verily seemed as if there were millions of them. In a few moments the wrigglers would assume their usual place around the inner sides of the tank and become entirely quiescent until again disturbed by some curious Yankee soldier.

Although the water was drawn from a wooden faucet near the bottom of the tank the water was almost invariably tepid and unwholesome; and the wonder is that the members of the company were not prostrated with sickness of some sort during the nearly four months we were encamped at Boutte Station. You may be assured the boys

did not drink any more of that foul water than they were absolutely obliged to; and if the entire company had taken to using whiskey for a drink it would, it seems to me, have been perfectly justifiable under the circumstances. And I will not deny that some of the boys drank fully as much whiskey as tank water.

To walk to the Mississippi River and get a drink from that swift-flowing stream was considered a great treat; and yet, when I tell you that the water we dipped from the "Father of Waters" was scarcely less unhealthful than the aforesaid tank water, you will doubtless wonder why we preferred it. The explanation is as follows: The Mississippi River, as you may or may not be aware, runs at the rate of from seven to ten miles an hour, and one of the consequences of this is that the water is decidedly muddy. It is a red mud, and so full of this red mud is the water, that if a cup is dipped from the river and permitted to stand a short time, there can be seen at the bottom of the cup, a thick, reddish sediment. Notwithstanding this, the boys drank the water from the Mississippi with great relish. Why? Because it was comparatively cool, and because there were no nasty wrigglers in it. If the boys who drank this river water had thereafter "no sand," it certainly wasn't because the beverage was lacking in that essential ingredient of human character.

It is still a question in my mind which of Lincoln's boys in blue faced the greater peril, those at Port Hudson and Vicksburg or those doing duty in Louisiana—some portions of which are from six to ten feet below the surface of the Mississippi River—, with its malarial atmosphere, its unwholesome water and its disease-imparting mosquitoes and poisonous reptiles.

Early on the morning of May 5th, the anniversary, by the way, of my nineteenth birthday, a squad of men from our company was detailed to cross the Mississippi River for the purpose of dispersing a band of Confederate guerillas. I was not among the number at first detailed, but wishing for a little relief from the monotony of camp life, I asked and received permission to accompany the squad. Upon reaching the opposite side of the river we learned that a number of the slaves on one of the large plantations had risen and had threatened the life of their master, a reputed Union man, and that we had been sent over to quell the

insurrection. This was somewhat mortifying to the boys of Company F itching for a scrap with the Confederates. The oral expressions of disappointment and chagrin were of such a character as to be scarcely proper for repetition.

The squad from Company F was in charge of one Lieutenant Brainard—so says a letter written home by me soon after the expedition—of another regiment. After marching about a mile from the landing place, making nearly five miles we had marched since leaving camp in the morning, we reached the plantation where the incipient insurrection was in progress. Lieutenant Brainard at once reported to the master whose slaves had risen, after which the squad was marched to the slaves' quarters, situated in the rear of the house, for the purpose of arresting the ringleaders. We found only three of the insurrectionists at their quarters, the others having disappeared on hearing of our approach.

Lieutenant Brainard immediately threw out a guard to prevent the rest of the slaves from leaving the plantation; but despite his efforts about forty of them escaped to the adjacent woods.

At about 10 o'clock A. M., the guard was ordered in and the entire squad spent the remainder of the forenoon under the comfortable shade of an old oak tree.

At 12 o'clock the entire squad was invited into the house to dinner; and for the first time in several months I sat down to a table spread with a white cloth and partook of an excellent dinner.

Dinner over, we all again sought the shelter of the oak tree, where we passed the afternoon, some in reading and others in lounging and sleeping.

After tea another guard was posted. The mosquitoes were so troublesome that I got but little sleep during the night.

Next morning after breakfast, having accomplished our mission, we started, with three slaves as prisoners; recrossed the Mississippi, and, at about 11 o'clock reached camp at Boutte Station.

Tavern Amusements in Eighteenth Century America

By Ruth E. Painter, Salem, Virginia.

TAVERNS and coffee-houses in the eighteenth century is an expression very apt to suggest the Turk's Head or King's Head of London, with Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and others of that brilliant group, clashing their wits over numerous cups of tea. The eighteenth century coffee-house of England has overshadowed the not less unique and interesting tavern of colonial America. This tavern, however, though it has no literary association which pleasantly perpetuates its image, is not one whit less entertaining nor important. Being the ancestor of the modern hotel on one hand, and of the modern saloon on the other, it is entitled to investigation on sociological grounds. From a sociological viewpoint, it is the most remarkable social center that America has ever produced. The viewpoint of this inquiry is candidly more frivolous; the question is, how did people amuse themselves at this social center.

Those curious travellers who investigated the New World during the eighteenth century, punctuated their daily journeyings with spending the night at ordinaries, cook-shops, wayside inns or taverns, as they were variously called. Finding many unusual happenings at their stopping places, these travellers duly recorded them in their laborious books of notes. Their evidence on the subject shall be examined, but first a general fact or two must be reviewed.

Ordinaries, as they are chiefly called before 1700, appeared of necessity very early in colonial history, forming with the church or meeting-house the nucleus of the little settlements. In the south every planter's mansion was a house of entertainment for the chance wayfarer, a fact that rendered tavern-keeping an un-

profitable business there; but in the Middle and New England colonies they flourished abundantly. By the time some of the settlements began to look like large towns and to consider themselves cities capable of following London fashions, the name and nature of coffee-houses came into prominence. Much could be said of the evolution and various types of these meeting places. Let it be sufficient here to note that during the entire century, except for religious meeting-houses, they were the centers around which clustered most social intercourse, being hotel, pool-room, postoffice, circus, club, playhouse, lecture hall, exchange, and market in one.

The taverns most important part in the recreation of the colonists, as in England, consisted in its being an established resort at which to spend afternoons or evenings and meet ones friends. Every degree of gentility and every degree of the lack of it could there be found. The tavern panorama for this whole century and country included all of its typical figures: scheming politicians and merchants, humble wayfarers, frowning Puritans, lurking Indians, royal governors, distinguished visitors, red-coat officers and stern-lipped patriots.

To the famous London Coffee House at Philadelphia, established as such in 1754, the governor and other honorables went at set hours—any time of the day was suitable—to sip their coffee and talk politics, notes Mr. Watson of the Annals. Some of these distinguished visitors had their known stalls. When this same establishment was rented in 1780 to one Gifford Dally, the written terms of agreement contain interesting evidence that not all its patrons were sober and dignified old gentlemen in wigs—sipping coffee. Mr. Dally had to promise to preserve decency and order in the house, to discourage swearing, to close the house on the first day of the week and to forbid cards, dice, backgammon or any other unlawful game.

The world, the flesh and the Devil were early patrons of the tavern. Certain bibulous gentlemen like one William Black have left appreciative accounts of refreshments more stimulating than coffee to be found in such places. The following is typical of many evenings of gentlemen other than Mr. Black in Philadelphia in 1744: "Went to the Coffee House, from thence to the Gov-

ernor's Club which is a select Number of Gentlemen that meet every Night at a Certain Tavern, where they pass away a few hours in the Pleasures of Conversation and a Cheerful Glass; about 9 Of the Clock, we had a very Genteel Supper and afterwards several sorts of Wines and fine Lemon Punch set out the Table, of which every one might take of what he best lik'd and what Quantity he Pleased, between the hours of 10 and 11."

Mr. Alexander Graydon, another delightful gentleman who figured in Philadelphia society before and during the Revolution, adds his testimony as to these—let a polite term be used—bacchanalian assemblies. In his youth, he says, he found "the pleasures of the table, the independence of tavern revelry, and its high-minded contempt of the plodding and industrious were irresistibly fascinating," not to add, a great detriment to his study of law. With the candor of a Rousseau in confessing his sins, he continues: "Nothing was more delightful to me than to find myself a member of a large bottle association sat in for serious drinking; the table officers appointed, the demi-johns filled, the bottles arranged, with the other necessary dispositions for such engagements; and I put no inconsiderable value upon myself for my supposed 'potency in potting.' "

Evidently these were no amateur performances. The narrator grows eloquent over "the convivial qualifications" of an older member of this school of riot, who was habitually called upon to contribute a song, accompanied by the violin, a rare and novel instrument in those days.

Both of these contemporary accounts mention—or rather, expand—over the joy of tavern billiard playing in such jolly company. Be it said in justice to colonial legislators that there was a whole series of laws intended to regulate the taverns and prevent excess. The number was strictly limited that they might not be set up for the advance of private gain and the encouragement of idleness and mischief, as certain verbose and formidable laws laboriously explain. Puritan magistrates early frowned upon the sports of the innyard. Carding, dicing, tally, bowls, billiards, slidegroat, shuffle-board, quoits, loggets, and ninepins were all in the catalogue of forbidden sins in New England! The magisterial frown had grown less severe in the eighteenth century but was

still legally visible. Puritan-bred New England heavily penalized such frivolity as a source of pleasure and as a method of idleness and extravagance, two of the cardinal sins! Various restrictions on the sale of liquor exisited in the different provinces, and a series of laws against gambling indicate a long struggle over the matter in Virginia.

The reason is plain when it is considered that the following is typical of the accounts consistently given by all eighteenth century travellers in Virginia. Mr. Isaac Weld, a cynical Englishman, writes with great disgust in 1797: "Perhaps in no place of the same size in the world is there more gambling going forward than in Richmond. I had scarcely alighted from my horse at the tavern, when the landlord came to ask what game I was most partial to, as in such a room there was a faro table, in another a hazard table, in a third a billiard table to any one of which he was willing to conduct me." Not appreciating such obligingness, the traveller became more and more outraged as he added to his facts. No secrecy was employed in keeping the tables, they were always crowded, and no petty tavern in Virginia or Maryland was without them. With justice he observes on the other hand, that the tavern in the south, a mean and squalid establishment in most cases, was the entertainment house for the lower classes only; the well-to-do planter entertained his friends royally at his manor-house or met them at the horseraces.

Another gentleman reports, in highly displeased mood, from New York in 1768 "a vile practice here which is peculiar to this city; I mean that of playing backgammon (a noise I detest) which is going forward in the public coffee-houses from morning till night, frequently ten or a dozen tables at a time."

The first amusement then is that somewhat broad and varied one whose essential components are a glass, a game and a jolly companion. Enough has been said to prove that the tavern was not slandered in its comparison to a saloon and poolroom. As to its nature as a postoffice, the uncertain but important person who occasionally rode on horseback a hundred miles or so collecting and carrying the mail, usually ended his journey by dumping his cargo on the tavern parlor table for general examination and selection. Certain slanderous traditions whisper that this person

was usually familiar with the contents of the letters themselves by that time.

The comparison of the colonial inn to a circus is a trifle startling at first, but introduces a most pleasant subject. Americans have been noted for their curiosity from the very start and the gray monotony of isolated days was much brightened if a "Monstrous Sight" should happen along. The tavern was naturally the exhibition place and temporary lodging of the varied secular shows that were offered for the entertainment of the curious. Its assembly room was probably the only large room in town, the meeting-house excepted, and perish the thought of any such profanation there! Besides monstrous sights found audiences at the taverns ready-made, and a discussion of their appearance before the tavern bar rendered press agent and advertisement unnecessary. If the monstrous sight chanced to be a wild beast, as was very often the case, he was confined in the tavern barn.

It is interesting to note, in a century that saw the beginning of the study of natural history, what a drawing card a moose, a walrus, a camel, a lion or leopard, was. Such animals appeared successively in the Salem taverns, chiefly at the Black Horse, as Mrs. Earle found in her investigation of tavern records. Then came the most monstrous of all, a prodigy of natural history called a Pygarg, said to be from Russia. An old description quoted by Mrs. Earle gives this remarkable beast "the likeness of a camel, bear, mule, goat and common bullock" which leaves it a mystery quite unsolved. A creature described as having "a face like a mouse, ears like an ass, neck and back like a camel, hind-parts like a horse, tail like a rabbit and feet like a heifer" if not named, would remain a scientific puzzle until some unflattered Progressive recognized our native American Moose.

The exhibition of cassowaries, learned pigs and horses, and deformed beasts and persons for small sums went further to appease the hungry curiosity of the colonists. Animals were ever a subject of interest in colonial times, perhaps because the settlers of a new world had learned to be on the alert for strange creatures. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, newspapers are found garishly advertising monstrous sights at taverns, in one case the sight being a single polar bear endowed—in

the notice—with most remarkable qualities and in another case "A beautiful African LION" that was "really worth the contemplation of the curious."

The chance guest stopping at a tavern might also have his education broadened by the exhibition of pictures, "prospects," statues, most elaborate clocks, moving puppets, and various other interesting mechanical contrivances. Mr. John Rowe has recorded in his diary his opinion—of which he had many—of one of these works of art. On Oct. 26, 1764, he "Went after dinner to see a Show at the White Horse which was a very faint Representation of the City of Jerusalem, in short 'tis a great Imposition of the Public." Perfect justice requires that the matter be investigated on the other side. Fortunately what is apparently the same exhibition appeared in Providence, where it was impressively described as "a Work of Seven Years, done at Germantown in Pennsylvania." This masterpiece represented "Jerusalem, the Temple of Solomon, his Royal Throne, the noted Towers and Hills, likewise the Sufferings of our Saviour from the Garden of Gethsemane to the Cross on the Hill of Golgotha" and was summed up as "an artful Piece of Statuary . . . worthy to be seen by the curious." Mr. Rowe's slight disparagement vanishes in the glory of the advertising.

It seems a pity those appreciative old colonials did not have an opportunity to open their eyes over a moving picture; they would so thoroughly have enjoyed it. But newly invented lightning rods and balloons were just as thrilling. Benjamin Franklin was typical of his time and country in his interest in electricity as in half a hundred ways. The learned and impressive lectures that were given on the subject must be described elsewhere. "Electrical Machines" excited equal interest when exhibited from tavern to tavern by solemn professors and imposing fakers.

The green in front of a colonial tavern could tell much more history than a Bunker's Hill, if one were but more interested in the place where our ancestors lived and enjoyed themselves, than in the place where they fought and died. It was from this green —where slaves, criminals and paupers were auctioned off, where strangers came for news, captains sold cargoes, sheriffs held

"vandues" and soldiers and merchants met—it was from this green that those primitive balloons were sent up from admiring crowds and bravely ascended in spite of the fact that some bore such weighty titles as "Archimedial Phaetons," "Vertical Aerial Coaches," or "Patent Foederal Balloons." They were recommended, not only as sources of amusement, but also as hygienic factors causing in the ascent "sudden revulsion of the blood and humors." And there are those who consider artful advertising a product of modern times!

After such blood-stirring excitement, it may be well to abandon the circus tavern for a more restful aspect. Where so many people came together, conversation naturally ensued, and it is always enlightening to know what people talk about. It may be stated a priori that where talkers of such varied interests came together, a conversation of variety was bound to result. The latest bit of news brought by a rare traveller, town questions which were preeminently important, theology, crops, politic, local scandal and gossip, and dissection of private character were all mixed and washed down with numerous "mugs of flip" and "boles of toddy."

The tavern was the exhibition place for local wit as well as for local wonders. Battles of wit and humor would bring out the whole community as quickly as a monstrous sight. In 1756 two master wits, Jonathan Gowen of Lynn, and Joseph Emerson of Reading, met by appointment for one of these intellectual prize-fights at a convenient tavern in Massachusetts. The interested audience overflowing the tavern lobby—to use a modern term—they were obliged to adjourn to an open field. After a valiant contest, Emerson was defeated, not a strange thing in view of the recorder's remark that Gowen's wit was "beyond all human imagination." The small town is the glory of the local hero; how these quick-tongued conquerors must have been lorded!

Such arguments for wit-sharpening appear in more polished circles. While passing a pleasant evening over a glass of punch at the Beaf-Stake Club in Philadelphia, 1744, Mr. Black was greatly interested in a dispute between what would now be called an optimist and a pessimist. The one found something praiseworthy in everybody, good motives for every action, "turn'd

Extravagance into Generosity, Avarice into Prudence, and so on through the whole Catalogue of Virtues and Vices;" the other took the opposite view, "Looked thro' the Magnifying Glass on all their Deffects and through the other end of the perspective on Everything that was Commendable in them." Great was Mr. Black's astonishment, for he was a stranger, at finding that each gentleman was just the reverse of the sentiments that he had expressed, and that the argument was merely for argument's sake.

That courageous woman who journeyed on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704, Madame Knight, buxom, blithe and debonair in the personality which colors her Journal, has something caustic to say on these tavern debating societies, as they might be called. Omitting the caustic, the fact remains that she was kept awake one night by the animated discussion of some "town tope-ers" in the next room who over their cups were earnestly arguing the origin of the name Narragansett. A friend of hers spent a sleepless night from a similar discussion by a "sergent, Insigne and a Deacon" as to the method of bringing a triangle into a square, a matter to puzzle clearer heads than these probably were, the deacon's not excepted.

So America reflected, in a crude and adolescent manner the polished coffee-house wit that figures largely in literary accounts of eighteenth century London. Tavern recreations bear the mark, as all colonial recreations do, of a developing but unfinished people. Could the twentieth century student of history but dispose of the encumbrance of time, according to Carlyle's energetic idea and pass an hour in colonial America, that hour had best be an evening one in a Philadelphia or Boston coffee-house about 1750; for he would there learn more of what his ancestor thought and did than in many volumes. William Black gives his word for it that it was his way of learning all about a new town or place, and Mr. Black impresses one as a very knowing gentleman.

But the possibilities of enjoying oneself at the tavern have not been half exhausted. A great deal of space must be devoted to a phase of tavern life that, under this subject might be scientifically classified as gastronomical diversions. No colonial event was

ever properly solemnized without a drink, a dinner and (if near New England) a sermon.

That Boston society gentleman of the middle of the century and later, John Rowe, who frequented the White Horse or the Turk's Head or some other establishment of picturesque sign and name five evenings out of a week on the average, made a careful record of the good times he enjoyed. His diary might well have as subtitle "Boston Dinners preceding the Revolution." Never was a town nor a man so devoted to feasting! As a member of all the leading clubs, who divided his evenings between the Posee, the Wednesday Night Club, the Fire Club, the Grand Lodge and numerous others, all meeting at Boston's flourishing coffee-houses, Rowe has said the last word on the tavern entertainments of that city.

Often serving as chairman or toastmaster, he was present at Merchants' dinners, St. Patrick dinners, Masonic dinners, artillery election dinners, dinners of the Proprietors of the Long Wharf, dinner-dances on royal birthdays or on accession or coronation days, and dinners to express public rejoicing over the Stamp Act repeal. When the company was exceedingly large, several hundred in fact, the place of feasting was Faneuil Hall or Concert Hall, but the various coffee-houses were the scenes of the rest. As prosperous merchant, as an officer of Trinity Church, as a public-minded citizen and a skillful master of ceremonies at dances, Rowe was in demand for every social event. Concerts, balls, and occasional festivities he relates with a scrupulousness of detail that forces him, on one occasion, to acknowledge that he wore slippers too small for him, and suffered thereby for his pride. The guests are enumerated just as if he knew he was writing for a curious posterity, and since all patriotic and prominent Bostonians appear in these lists, the Quinceys, John and Samuel Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, etc., they are very interesting lists to read. And in the large majority of cases every social event in which Rowe figured took place at some coffee-house or tavern. His evidence then is well worth worth considering.

The occcasion might be a simple meeting of a local Arbitration Committee, or a Committee from the General Court on the Excise

Act and business meetings were commonly lubricated with refreshments. Perhaps that is the reason they usually met at taverns. The Charitable Society met regularly at Mrs. Cordis's, the chief rendezvous of all aristocratic Bostonians in the years touching the Revolution, and taking quite literally the exhortation for charity to begin at home, always ended with a "genteel dinner." The "Brethren" of the Grand Lodge never failed to dine together at some coffee-house on St. John's Day, the King's Arms on Boston Neck being a favorite. On the occasion when Mr. Rowe was "Installed Grand Master of Masons for North America" Nov. 23, 1768, Concert Hall was the scene of the "elegant Entertainment," which followed an imposing ceremony including a procession around the town, "Two Brass Bands of Musick," and prayers and a sermon at Trinity Church.

Another occasion always patriotically celebrated by the Sons of St. Patrick was St. Patrick's Day. For each year until 1776, on March 17 a dinner at some tavern—often the Bunch of Grapes—was recorded, after the whole procession of Sons had marched by a band of music to King's Chapel and listened to a sermon. But on March 17, 1776, St. Patrick seems to have lost his popularity as well as St. George. More vital patriotism has blotted out the former; more momentous events are now to be celebrated. On the next page is found an entry of a "handsome Entertainment at Capt Marston that now lives in Colo. Ingersoll's house (the Bunch of Grapes) for Genl Washington and the other Generals of the United Colonies & the Rev^{d} Dr. Elliott preached at Dr. Chauncey's Meeting a Sermon on the Occasion giving a History of what had hapined in Town during the Siege."

These patriotic celebrations, echoes in social life of political events that loom large in our nation's forming, are perhaps the most interesting of all. It would be helpful to know just what toasts were drunk at the dinner on the anniversary of the Stamp Act repeal, March 18, 1768, at the Bunch of Grapes. Those toasts would be an expression of the state of mind in Boston on that day, in years when states of mind were fluctuating between the old patriotism and the new. Mr. Rowe kindly volunteers full information. Among the sixteen toasts (and that number is itself an interesting fact) were the following: 1. The King. 2. The

Queen and Royal Family. 3. The Earl of Chatham. 11. The Extension of Trades and Commerce. 12. The United and Inseparable Interest of Great Britain and her Colonies. 14. May the 18th Day of March, 1766, the Day the Stamp Act was repealed be ever had in Memory of all True Briton and Americans. 15. Prosperity to the Sons of Liberty. At the Merchants' dinner in December, 1766, the twenty-seven toasts included most of these with interesting additions. Near Boston, at Roxbury, was a tavern that seems to have been preeminently satisfactory in the matter of turtle-feasts. No modern point of view can appreciate what a valuable asset to a tavern this was, just as no modern point of view can realize the importance and glories of a turtle-feast. But the colonists fully appreciated these things. Mr. Rowe goes to this tavern Greaton's, in Roxbury, on nearly every other page of his diary, sometimes with twenty or thirty other gentlemen, sometimes with as many ladies in the party, when a turtle-dinner-dance was made of the affair. It was a popular custom in all cities about this time for parties to drive or sleigh out of town, stop at a tavern for dinner or tea or both, dance in the evening, and then return home by moonlight, if there happened to be any. Such sleighing, fishing, picnic or dancing parties made much patronage and many gay scenes at suburban taverns.

That travelling clergyman of 1759, Andrew Burnaby, reports from New York an unromantic account of this most romantic rusticating. At several taverns on East River, New York society folk were accustomed to have turtle feasts once or twice a week, he says. "Thirty or forty gentlemen and ladies meet and dine together, drink tea in the afternoon, fish, and amuse themselves till evening, and then return home in Italian chaises a gentleman and lady in each chaise. On the way there is a bridge, about three miles distant from New York, which you always pass over as you return, called the Kissing Bridge, where it is part of the etiquette to salute the lady who has put herself under your protection. "Kissing bridges were not unknown elsewhere. Evidently colonial ladies were very broadminded on the subject; at least widows never strenuously objected, a fact the worthy Judge Sewall amply vouches for!

John Rowe was such an inveterate and enthusiastic fisherman that he deserves to be called the Isaac Walton of America. Fishing trips with certain congenial friends occur on nearly every page of his diary, and if their ladies resolved to accompany their husbands on these expeditions, the tavern was sure to be called into play. For the husbands deposited the ladies safely at a nearby tavern, where they made excellent company to dine and rejoice with over such triumphs as "a dozen trout" or "26 Dozen of Pond Perch." The expedition might extend over a couple of days when the nights were spent at the taverns. Fishing was evidently not a ladylike accomplishment in Boston, but on one excursion to Flax Pond, the feminine members were privileged to dine with their lords under the trees, which seems to be as near the sport as they were allowed to get.

So very popular were these excursions, whether the "Barbikue" that Rowe often mentions approvingly, or some other species of picnic, that it is not surprising to find suburban taverns making capital of their rural surroundings. One Mistress Mary Burke advertised in 1792, in a town newspaper the attractions of her tavern as follows: "Fresh Pond is six miles from Boston; the roads good and improving; the Pond well stored with Fish, Boats and all necessary fishing apparatus for Ladies and Gentlemen provided. The adjacent country furnishes Game—and the walks in its vicinity are rurally agreeable." Thus the tavern created about itself an eighteenth century park.

Rowe's "Good Sport" and walks that are "rurally agreeable" are very pleasant subjects; so is the tavern dance. Many of its settlers came to America with an innate love of dancing, and even the Puritan ordinary must have witnessed some wedding scenes that were tentatively frivolous, since in 1631, the Magistrates of Massachusetts Bay passed a law prohibiting dances at taverns on such occasions. That, however, was a very distant forerunner of the eighteenth century tavern ball. Memories of these frequent merrymakings have been abundantly preserved in old diaries and travels, pleasantly suggesting large, low-rafted rooms, softly candle-lighted, with wigged and slippered gentlemen bowing to stately ladies of high and imposing coiffure. A discord is sometimes introduced into this traditional picture by Englishmen or

Frenchmen of difficult taste who found the dancers over vigorous and ungraceful, or boldly stated, as did the sober Burnaby, that the ladies of Virginia danced plain "jigs," a practice borrowed from the negroes.

It was the middle of the century before prejudice had been overcome generally enough for the tavern, with its convenient large assembly room, to be the scene of many of these balls. One bold Benjamin Parker, town treasurer of Medford, Massachusetts, and a man who evidently kept a little abreast of the sentiment of his age, provided a specific dance hall when he built his spacious tavern in 1745. Even in New England, in spite of legal and theological discouragement, human nature was gaining in its battle with Puritan orthodoxy, and it was a chief amusement there as in all the colonies by this time.

Miss Crawford tells of a ball at a New England tavern about 1730 where Jerusha Howe, the only daughter of Landlord Howe and the belle of Sudbury as well, served wine and cake made by her own dainty hands. For many years afterwards the Red Horse Tavern treasured the little pale blue satin slippers that adorned her feet on that occasion.

At an earlier date—and this time it was at the sign of the Black Horse in New York—on January 19, 1736, an elaborate ball celebated the birthday of the Prince of Wales. Royal birthdays always made such excellent excuses for balls and fireworks, that the Americans must have been really embarrassed by the loss of these occasions after the Revolution. At this ball, loyalty tried to outdo itself in drinking the health of the Royal Family, the Governor, and the Council, and an inventing two new country dances, calling the first the Prince of Wales and the second the Princess of Saxe-Gotha. Opening with French dances but loyally concluding with the native product—country dances, this interesting entertainment no doubt deserves the adjective "elegant" that was applied to it, and it is equally probable that the ladies were as "magnificent" as described.

Mr. Rowe shows clearly that coffee-house dances were the fashion in his Boston. Such an entry as this is very frequent: January 7th, 1767, "Spent the evening at M. Cordis' at a very Genteel Entertainment & Dance where I presided."

"Ordination ball" sounds like a paradox, but by the time of the Revolution New England was blind both to the humor and the contradiction of the custom. Ordination Day was a red letter one for the tavern as well as for the meeting-house and the congregation. The visiting ministers who assisted at the services were entertained at the tavern and great were the preparations for the sumptuous repast, which, to tell the truth, was probably necessary to exhausted nature after the four hour service that Judge Sewall often rejoiced in. A special beer was sometimes brewed for the occasion and was boldly known by the name of "Ordination Beer." The parsons displayed a human frailty that is quite delightful, and the bill for their entertainment at the Hartford ordination abounds in such unministerial items as "15 boles punch," "11 bottles wine," "5 mugs flip," "5 segars," and numerous other amazing things.

Tavern bills might have been food for gossip very often in the good old times. It is Mrs. Earle again who allows this scandalous fact to escape; namely, that at a minister's ordination in New England, 1785, eighty people attending in the morning had thirty bowls of punch before going to meeting, and the sixty-eight who had dinner disposed of forty-four bowls of punch, eighteen bottles of wine, eight bowls of brandy and an unknown quantity of cherry rum. And most taverns used "double and thribble" bowls which held two and three quarts each.

For the sake of the historic name it contains, a passage shall be quoted from *The Virginia Gazette,* Oct. 5, 1768, and the subject of these dinners and dances at taverns shall be thus concluded. "Yesterday, Peyton Randolph, Esq., our worthy representative, gave a genteel dinner at the *Raleigh Tavern,* to the electors of this city, after which many loyal and patriotic toasts were drank, and the afternoon spent with cheerfulness and decorum."

Neither cheerful nor decorus is the next phase to be considered. The Raleigh Tavern, being in the so-called city, and patronized by Virginia gentlemen was hardly a fair type of the petty inns, sometimes called "tippling places," which dotted an ill-settled and undeveloped south.

That most obliging of travelers in the way of information, Marquis de Chastellux, has left a full account of the most popular

amusement at this type of inn. Journeying through Virginia in 1781 or 1782, at a solitary little tavern in the woods, he found a numerous assembly, members of which soon informed him that he was fortunate enough to arrive on the eve of a cock-fight. With true scientific martyrdom, he promptly assisted; and made the following observations. The diversion was most popular in Virginia where English customs prevailed with less modification than in the rest of America. When the owners of two champions proposed a match, the important news was noised abroad, not by telephone or telegraph, but on the live wires of human gossip; and planters for thirty or forty miles around were sure to respond, some attending with cocks but—a much more essential matter—all with money for betting. All this was in days when there were neither regular post nor conveyances. They came provided with something to eat, as so many wholesale appetites could not be satisfied at the seldom visited inn. As to lodging, that was arranged with admirable simplicity. The floor of the tavern taproom with a blanket apiece was thought quite sufficient. People whose taste required something more delicate did not attend cock fights.

Preparation for the duel was a lengthy and detailed process. The cocks were, of course, armed with long steel spurs, very sharp, and to make it more cruel, part of their feathers were cut off. The moment the birds were dropped, stakes ran high. If the little warriors fought valiantly, as they are reported to have done, then they were certainly more admirable than the mob that crowded around the pit and howled appreciation of each stroke. Chastellux did not know which was the most astonishing, "the insipidity of such diversion or the stupid interest with which it animates the parties."

Under another subject the fact is mentioned that most of these southern taverns had their adjoining race tracks for quarter racing; and it is there shown that cock fighting and horse racing were the dominating interests of the planter's life. These, as well as those hideous boxing matches so popular with the lower class of whites, centered about their disreputable taverns and formed dark chapters of its history. Saloon is a more descriptive term for these establishments. Travelers constantly re-

mark upon the enormous amount of drinking that was always going on amid arguments over horses and law suits. When the traveler arrived, these operations were usually suspended long enough to value his horse, offer him a glass of whiskey, and ply him with a multitude of questions.

The resorts for half civilized sports are characteristic of back woods sections. Along the frontier at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, travelers found the same condition. Cumings noted that Saturday evening was the most popular time for these drinking meetings among the frontiersmen of 1807-9. Perhaps they felt they could balance matters next day by attending the lecture of some frantic dispenser of the gospel. They would no more have thought of omitting the one than the other.

It is Cumings also who calls attention to a tavern sport which naturally arose among people whose lives taught them to rely upon their rifles. Rifle practice was always an important and interesting matter to the colonists—even conscientious New England enjoyed this practice on its training days—and rifle practice which was also a turkey-shoot at a tavern must certainly have had its fascination. There was an undoubted appeal in finding such a notice as the following in an autumnal newspaper.

"SHARP SHOOTING.

"Thos. D. Ponsland informs his Friends and the Friends of *Sport* that he will on Friday, 7th day of December next, set up for SHOOTING a number of

FINE FAT TURKEYS

and invites all *Gunners* and others who would wish to recreate themselves to call on the day after Thanksgiving at the Old Bakers' Tavern, Upp. Parish Beverly, where every accommodation will be afforded."

This interesting bulletin is quoted by Mrs. Earle who unfortunately does not give the date. She does state however, that *The Boston Evening Post* of Jan. 11, 1773, gave notice that a bear and number of turkeys would be set up for mark at the Punch Bowl Tavern in Brookline.

All accounts show that these interesting affairs were conducted

according to a set of rules. The turkeys were tied at certain distances—a hundred yards says Mr. Cumings in his account—the marksmen paid so much per shot to the one who furnished the turkeys, often the tavern keeper himself, if he killed the bird he carried it off as his prize, if he did not he had quite as much sport as many who go hunting in these unskillful days.

It has been seen that the practice lasted into the nineteenth century. I have talked with a friend who witnessed the same sport as a Christmas celebration in the mountain district of Kentucky, 1912. There are in the same state, and in others, worthy descendants of those colonists who crowded the eighteenth century cock pit, who still rejoice in cock fighting *sub rosa*, as there are now stringent laws against such amusements.

One more of these harsher tavern sports must in justice be given. Bull-baiting receives frequent mention. Mrs. Earle blames the English officers stationed in America for making this sport the fashion, and reports that in 1774 a bull-baiting was held every day for many months near her New England home, under the capable management of Landlord Loosely, Kingshead Tavern. Mr. Loosely was kept busy advertising for good active bulls and strong dogs, even resorting to rhyme to catch the public eye.

In 1763, earlier, the keeper of the DeLancey Arms in New York offered a similar treat to his patrons. Those who look upon Spanish bull fights as cruel sport should not investigate the details of these baiting performances, lest they think hard things of their ancestors. The people who colonized and made independent a wild new country had to face realities too stern for the over refined. Crued, hardy, red blooded men demanded perhaps, strong meat of recreation.

The practice took too firm a hold on the Americans. As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century Field found a newspaper advertising a "Grand Combat between the *Urus Zebu* and Spanish BULL, on the 4th of July—at the HALF-WAY HOUSE on the Salem Turnpike."

By this time it has been seen that the word tavern covers a variety of antique establishments, from a petty saloon where one might spend an uncomfortable night to the polished Boston and Philadelphia Coffee-House, a club room for the men who figured

in our nation's formation where they met and talked over their national plans. Much geography has been covered in this sketch. These taverns dotted a country heterogeneous in race, religion, and customs, a country broken into a hundred local horizons beyond which the individual rarely caught a glimpse. It was in the south in districts removed from the cities, that tavern sports sank to the lowest level, an explanation for calling the tavern a play house or lecture hall requires a return journey to the cities, especially in the middle and New England colonies.

The subject of the development of the theatre in America requires many separate chapters. Numerous imposing heads shook disapproval and wondered what are we coming to, and numerous tongues wagged endlessly in theological argument, before a God-fearing citizen could attend a play in peace of conscience. The erecting of play houses or theatres proper was a precarious matter indeed before the eighties or nineties of the eighteenth century, and even then it was a bold man who undertook such an enterprise. Meanwhile the tavern made a species of substitute.

There is a temptation to make a trite remark at this point. History undoubtedly does repeat itself. A great deal has been written about the innyard plays that were popular in England during the century before Shakespeare. Theatricals were in disrepute then as in the colonial period. Consequently in America, as in England, the first little plays served an apprenticeship at the taverns before mastering a legitimate theatre.

Apprenticeships are supposed to entail hardships. Judge Sewall gives an interesting account of what happened to a tavern keeper who so fell from grace as to permit a "vain show" at his house. In 1687, one December evening, the Judge with several other notable gentlemen went to Castle Inn to "Treat with Brother Wing about his Setting a Room in his House for a Man to Shew Tricks in." The poor hospitable landlord, overcome at this visitation, said "seeing 'tis offensive he will remedy it." It was not enough. Out came an impressive book and Judge Sewall read Dr. Ames's Sermon on Callings, lengthily expounding "from this Principle that the Man's Practice was unlawful, and therefore Capt. Wing could not lawfully give him an accommodation for it." Then, to make his conviction a thorough one, the pious gen-

tlemen whipped out their psalm books, sang to the backslider "the 90 Ps. from the 12 v. to the end" and left, no doubt feeling that they had done their duty nobly.

Advertising phrases were carefully chosen to avoid arousing magisterial suspicions. "Histrionic Academies" sounded quite harmless and learned in fact. "Drolls" is slightly suggestive of lightmindedness but is not so bad as its synoym plays. Under such terms clever managers smuggled their companies into taverns and here is a specimen of the playbills put forth—this one in 1762:

"Kings Arms Tavern, Newport, Rhode Island.

On Monday, June 10th, at the Public room of the Above Inn will be delivered a series of

Moral Dialogues

In Five Parts

depicting the evil effects of jealousy and other bad passions and and Proving that happiness can only spring from the pursuit of Virtue.

Mr. Douglass—Will represent a noble magnanimous Moor called Othello, who loves a young lady named Desdemona, and, after he marries her, harbours (as in too many cases) the dreadful passion of jealousy.

Of jealousy our being's bane
Mark the small cause and the most dreadful pain.

Mr. Allyn—Will depict the character of a specious villain, in the regiment of Othello, who is so base as to hate his commander on mere suspicion and to impose on his best friend. Of such characters, it is to be feared, there are thousands in the world, and the one in question may present to us a salutary warning.

The man that wrongs his master and his friend
What can he come to but a shameful end?

Mr. Hallam—Will delineate a young and thoughtless officer who is traduce by Mr. Allyn and, getting drunk, loses his situation and his general esteem. All young men whatsoever take example from Cassio.

The ill effects of drinking would you see?
Be warned and fly from evil company."

A similar description of the part of each actor and actress follows, each description neatly tagged with a rhymed couplet bearing the moral. It is made perfectly clear that no one, with an eye to his mental and moral improvement, could afford to miss this treat. The advertisement closes:

"Various other Dialogues, too numerous to mention here, will be delivered at night, all adapted to the mind and manners. The whole will be repeated on Wednesday and on Saturday. Tickets, six shillings each, to be had within. Commencement at 7. Conclusion at half-past ten: in order that every Spectator may go home at a sober hour and reflect upon what he has seen, before he retired to rest.

God save the King
Long may he sway
East, north and south
And fair America."

Shakespeare has been dressed and served in many ways to suit the varied tastes of succeeding centuries. It would be interesting to know if he would recognize his own Othello so puritanized. At all events it is to be hoped the audience was greatly edified.

Mrs. Earle also tells of two young English strollers who about 1750 gave a play in a Boston Coffee House. Evidently less tact was employed on this occasion, as the magistrates promptly squelched such ungodly proceedings. John Rowe, the coffee house authority of Boston, makes little reference if any, to plays there.

The inhabitant of New England has never lacked for intellectual nourishment in the matter of lectures. It is a subject which easily requires a whole chapter to itself. In the natural course of events, the public room at the tavern received its share, as well as the meeting house, town hall, or other public structure. One of the quaintest of all of these, Mr. Douglas's lecture on "Heads, Coats of Arms, Wigs, Ladies Head Dresses" was once delivered at the Bunch of Grapes. Perhaps this was the time when Mr. Rowe attended in 1769 and reported that "he Per-

formed well." As to what was dealt with under this remarkable title, whether it pertained to art histrionic, tonsorial or heraldic is a matter that cannot be settled here without further information.

Plays and lectures quickly suggest music and literature. These questions arise: did the many-sided tavern serve also as a public library and did concerts add to its other noisy excitements? It must be remembered that our nation-making people had little time for such froth of existence as literature, and any Puritan dignitary could have told you that music was a diabolical art, associated with Popery or the Church of England. It was a rare town which possessed a citizen who could boast of a library before the middle of the century; although from the standard of the age a man could obtain a library at one purchase and consider his preparation for a life of reading a finished matter.

Chastellux recorded as an unusual fact that on a tavern parlor table in New York, he found "Milton, Addison, Richardson and several other works of that kind." Such intellectuality was not encouraged by the Frenchman who characteristically remarked "the cellar was not so well stored as the library."

If a town boasted of a copy of a newspaper at all, it would be found at the tavern, probably in a dingy state, as it saw hard usage. Some could read it and some pretended to and on the whole it furnished news, conversation and performed sometimes unexpected functions as may be judged from the notice posted over the mantelshelf of one taproom: "Gentlemen learning to spell are requested to use last week's newsletter."

In city coffee-houses, which were so nearly men's clubs, the few primitive newspapers of the day could be found, together with the other bits of current literature in existence. In 1781 a book auction was held at Mr. Goodhue's tavern in Salem to which all "the Sentimentalists and all Volontiers who are pleased to encourage the extensive Propogation of Polite Literature" were invited. On the whole, however, books are conspicuous for their absence from tavern amusements, as from the amusements of this century in general.

Concerts at taverns undoubtedly there were. After the middle of the century, the "diabolical art" was recovering somewhat

from its bad reputation, and spinets, harpsichords, and harmonicas began to be heard in wealthy and progressive homes. Chastellux found to his delight, when shown to his tavern room in Virginia, where there was no blight of religious prejudice, "a large magnificent harpsichord on which lay also a guitar." The daughter of the landlady knew how to use them and the guest was well entertained. M. Brissot de Warville, journeying in New York about eight years later, in 1788, had the same pleasant experience, and could hardly decide which was the more charming, the daughter or the forte-piano music. As long as susceptible Frenchmen were travelers, both the daughters and the musical instruments seem to have been valuable tavern assets.

It is Mr. Rowe again who volunteers the desired details of the subject. On February 3, 1773, he attended one of these coffee-house concerts, and reported "very fine Musick & Good Performers." Having the courage of his convictions, on the seventeenth, he again formed one of a large mixed audience.

Various other references establish the tavern concert or "consort" as a reality, a rather painful one it is to be feared, in days when music was in its infancy, and singing by note was under the ban of religious disapproval.

There are many other happenings that brought people to the tavern for recreation, but these scatter themselves under other titles. Old taverns might tell of the frivolities of Training Day which was like a fourth of July before the Revolution, occurring in New England eight times a year. That spectacle second to none in excitement, a public execution, was often viewed from tavern windows. Stocks, whipping posts and gallows were commonly erected near the inn. Many stories might be told of the liberty trees or poles of taverns, their impressive dedications, and the patriotic meetings of their "Sons." Equally interesting would be an account of lottery drawing. A group of southern gentlemen assembling for a fox hunt would make a good subject for a painting, in which the tavern would appear in the background. Tavern amusements proper, however, have received due space.

But there is one remaining that has not even been touched upon, an amusement in the variest sense of the word, though not

peculiar either to colonial taverns or times. For want of a more scientific name, it must be called pranking. Taverns made excellent backgrounds for practical jokes, some of which have been recorded. The most charming of all is Mrs. Grant's account of fashionable pig-stealing at Albany, which will make a cheerful ending to this expedition into tavern diversions.

Mrs. Anne Grant was an elderly gentlewoman who wrote in her Scotland home, half a century afterwards her memories of a childhood spent in New York. This circumstance introduces a caution in accepting her statements, at least in regard to political matters, where prejudice easily lends color. On the other hand, the standpoint of an interested young person is perhaps the best one from which to get a detailed narrative of a merrymaking.

In Albany as elsewhere, the tavern was the place for the young men to meet over a social glass in the evenings. The inner man also demanding a supper ,and the Albanians being exceedingly parsimonious—the traveler Kalm says that "if a Jew, who understood the art of getting forward perfectly well, should settle amongst them, they would not fail to ruin him"—fashionable pig-stealing arose to meet the emergency. A roasting pig or a fine fat turkey made a delicious finale to an evening's frolic, and both were raised in great numbers by all the inhabitants of the town.

So certain of the youthful revelers became very skilful in climbing over high walls in the dark, watching for a chance to steal in when the servants were busy with the stock, and keeping an alert eye for the irate owner. Thus it came about that turkeys and pigs were the only articles ever locked up in the honest city of Albany, and any outhouse noise on a dark night brought the wrathful householder to the spot with a cudgel in an instant.

Now marriage in this town was followed by two dreadful privations: a married man could not, without outraging decorum, go sledding nor pig-stealing. Consequently, when an erstwhile pig-stealer deserted the ranks, got married and set up housekeeping, he was sure of an early visitation from his former confederates. Mrs. Grant even remembered one young husband, recently attained to that dignity, who ran out one night to prevent the capture of his turkey roost, discovered his old associates, and could

not resist the temptation. He joined them in another raid and then shared his own turkey at the tavern.

The most interesting portion of Mrs. Grant's account must be told in her own words:

"In one instance a young party had, in this manner, provided a pig, and ordered it to be roasted at the King's Arms: another party attacked the same place whence this booty was taken, but found it already rifled. This party was headed by an idle, mischievous young man, who was the Ned Poins of his fraternity: well guessing how the stolen roasting-pig was disposed of, he ordered his friends to adjourn to the rival tavern, and went himself to the King's Arms. Inquiring in the kitchen (where a pig was roasting) who supped there, he soon arrived at certainty; then, taking an opportunity when there was no one in the kitchen but the cook-maid, he sent for one of the jovial party, who were at cards upstairs. During her absence, he cut the string by which the pig was suspended, laid it in the dripping pan, and, through the quiet and dark streets of that sober city, carried it safely to the other tavern, where, after finishing the roasting, he and his companions prepared to regale themselves. Meanwhile the pig was missed at the King's Arms; and it was immediately concluded, from the dexterity and address with which this trick was performed, that no other but the Poins aforesaid could be the author of it. A new stratagem was now devised to outwit this stealer of the stolen. An adventurous youth of the despoiled party laid down a parcel of shavings opposite the other tavern, and, setting them in a blaze, cried 'Fire!' a most alarming sound here, where such accidents were too frequent. Everyone rushed out of the house just as supper had been served. The dexterous purveyor who had occasioned all the disturbance stole in, snatched up the dish with the pig in it, stole out again by the backdoor, and feasted his companions with the recovered spoils."

Some of the Women who Skilfully Planned and Heroically Suffered in the Revolution for the Cause of American Independence

BY J. C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL. B.

XVIII

Mary Draper

THIS generous and courageous woman was the wife of Captain Draper of Dedham, Massachusetts, married long before the Revolution and with children well grown up when the trouble began at Lexington.

Captain Draper was a thriving farmer, and had always prospered, if one could judge from his surroundings and the manner of living carried on in his family. His house and his barns were both large, and the latter were always filled to their utmost capacity with the stores for winter for his family and plenty of cows were in his barns, and the dairy was the special pride and care of Mrs. Draper.

Benevolence was her greatest characteristic, and the resources at her command, through her generous husband, enabled her to contribute much to charitable purposes. Their house was built with two large ovens, either one of them large enough to bake bread for the whole village.

When the news was heard of the expected attack of the British upon our patriots at Lexington, General Putnam, in Connecticut, was at work in his field ploughing. He left all and seized his musket, and, not waiting to change his apparel, marched on to Cambridge, calling on all he saw on his way to join in, bring any weap-

ons they had, and follow without delay. Their route happened to be the road passing the home of the Drapers in Dedham.

Men thought of nothing but liberty and the safety of their homes and families. They put their trust in the Lord, and left all in His hands, but struck with their right arms their first blow for freedom at this Lexington fight. The women showed the same patriotic zeal, and began preparations to encourage, assist, and sustain the men, never relaxing in their endeavors to lend the helping hand, as far as lay in their power to do so. It may be judged such an opportunity as this would develop almost any character, and such a benevolent woman as Mary Draper would become a bright and shining light.

At the first call she exhorted her husband to lose no time in preparing and hastening to the scene of action. With her own hands she bound knapsacks and blanket to the shoulders of her only son, a boy of sixteen years, bidding him hasten to do his duty, and follow in the footsteps of his father. The daughter entreated the mother to allow him to remain and protect them, but she answered, "No, he must go; but you and I, Kate, will have enough to do to feed the hungry who will pass here on their way before tomorrow night."

Hundreds did come and were fed, and passed on only to be followed by hundreds more, who were all treated in the same generous manner. Refreshed and rested and encouraged to go on, by Mary Draper, they continued to pass along this road that led by their home for several days, till order and discipline were established.

Mary Draper, assisted by her daughter and a domestic in her family, spent the whole day and night and following day in baking brown bread. The two ovens that I have mentioned as being of unusually large capacity, were set in full blast, and they never had been before so pushed to their fullest extent, and I doubt if ever since, in such a small space of time. No one could stop long to dine, and as soon as the hungry were relieved from their cravings, without waiting to rest, they pushed on, if at all able to do so. Some were almost exhausted, and obliged to remain several hours to recuperate, but the excitement of the arrival of more pa-

triots kept up their courage, and as soon as they were able to resume their march they moved on.

With the help of a disabled Frenchman, a veteran of the French war, who had been given a home in the Draper family for many years, Mary Draper had all the refreshments in readiness to offer the weary patriots as they passed along. A long wooden form was erected by the roadside, large pans of bread and cheese were placed upon it and replenished as often as necessary. The old veteran brought tubs which were filled full of cider from their cellar, and it was served out by two lads who volunteered their services. Mrs. Draper presided at this entertainment, and when her stock of provisions gave out, called upon her neighbors for contributions, thus supplying the demand till arrangements were made to have the troops rationed in a regular military way.

And when it came to the work of moulding bullets there not being enough, Mary Draper generously and promptly gave all of her pewter and she herself put into the milling pot all her treasured pewter platters, pans and dishes and soon had them transformed into ammunition for the defence of her country.

Winter was now approaching and with it fears of the want of supplies for the army. The country could scarcely yield what was sure to be the demand made upon it should the war continue. The calls upon private benevolence became imperative, and the question of clothing for the patriots, who must spend the winter in camp, was a very momentous one. Mrs. Draper was one of the first to see this approaching difficulty, and became deeply interested and the most active in efforts to render all the aid in her power, and inspired her neighbors to do likewise. Her house had always been an asylum for the destitute, and now her deepest sympathies were enlisted for the newly forming army—to which the hardships of war were almost entirely unknown.

She considered their own possessions only as a means of assisting her distressed country, and would share with those who were ready to lay down their lives to place this land of their adoption beyond the reach of tyranny and taxation unjustly demanded of it. The supply of cloth, woven for use in her own family, was converted into coats for soldiers by her daughter and maid, under her direct supervision, and sheets and blankets were fashioned

into shirts for them also, and even garments already made out of the last new weavings for herself were converted into such men's wear as were most needed.

XIX

Deborah Sampson

Deborah Sampson, was a schoolteacher in Massachusetts and in October, 1778, she made a man's suit of clothes for herself and taking the name of Robert Skirtliff, she enlisted at Medway, Massachusetts, in Captain Nathan Thayer's Company. She was once a waitress in the family of Colonel Patterson in whose regiment David Pixley, the ancestor of the writer of this article, was a lieutenant.

Skirtliff was called "Molly" by his comrades, as he had no beard. She fought courageously and was wounded three times and each time feared greatly her sex would be discovered, which she felt would be a blow equal to death to her. But she was not so discovered until taken down with fever and supposed to be dying. Dr. Binney of Philadelphia discovered the soldier was a woman. He, however, kept the secret and had Skirtliff taken to his own house for better care. The doctor's niece fell in love with the invalid and melancholy soldier and knowing by intuition he would never dare to aspire to the hand of one so gifted by fortune she made known her attachment and offered to provide for her loved one's education before marriage.

Deborah often declared this episode was the saddest of her life because she had so unwittingly gained the love of a being so guileless and inflicted pain upon one she would have died to shield.

On her full recovery Dr. Binney sent her with a letter to General Washington and at her interview he handed her in silence a discharge from the service, a note giving her advice, also a sum of money. "How thankful," she said, "was I to that great and good man who so kindly spared my feelings. He saw me ready to sink with shame, but he spoke no word and I blessed him for it.

She afterwards married Benjamin Gannett of Sharon, and when Washington was President, he invited Robert Skirtliff (Mrs. Gannett), to visit the seat of government and while there Congress granted her a pension and certain tracts of land in acknowledgment of her services to the country, and several officers invited her to their homes and showed by their kindness the high estimation in which she was held.

In 1805 she and her husband and three fine children were all in comfortable circumstances, and in 1820 when getting her pension, she was sixty-two years old, hale and hearty in both mind and body.

Historic Views and Reviews

How Abraham Lincoln Escaped Locating in Wisconsin

"DID you ever hear the story of how President Abraham Lincoln escaped oblivion?" asked Harry Bolens, formerly mayor of Port Washington, as he sat among a bunch of friends over in the Plankinton house recently. "No, well, then I will tell you a story that is well authenticated, but which has never appeared in print except in a history of Washingon and Ozaukee counties that was published nearly forty years ago for private circulation, very few copies of which are still in existence.

"Way back in 1835 Gen. Harrison—I do not know his initials, and his full name is not given in the book—laid out the city of Port Washington, then known as Wisconsin City, and built the first house on the site of the present city. Some time between 1835 and 1840, the exact year is not known, Abraham Lincoln, then a struggling lawyer, came to Wisconsin, stopped for a short time in Milwaukee, and then came to Port Washington or rather Wisconsin City. It was the conviction of the inhabitants of the place, reinforced by all vessel men from Buffalo to Chicago that Wisconsin City was destined to become the metropolis of Wisconsin if not of the great Northwest.

"Mr. Lincoln, however, was on a tour of inspection, seeking a place to hang out his shingle and practice his profession as a lawyer. He visited Sheboygan, but concluded that place had no future before it. He returned to Port Washington and stopped there for two days, during which he arranged with Gen. Harrison for the rent of quarters for his law office. This was in the fall of the year, and the arrangement was that Mr. Lincoln should return in the spring and take possession of his quarters. In the spring, however, the floods put a quietus on all travel—the West was fairly afloat in the freshet, and the heavy rain storms kept up

until late in the summer. Under these conditions Mr. Lincoln decided to locate elsewhere, and later sent his regrets to Gen. Harrison.

"Now suppose the freshet had not prevented Mr. Lincoln from locating in Port Washington, do you suppose he would ever have been elected president of the United States? Why sir, the unterrified Democracy have never allowed anything from a pathmaster up to be elected outside of the Democratic party. Eugene Turner defeated Leland Stanford for district attorney, which so disgusted Stanford that he went to California, became a millionaire and a national character, while Turner is here still struggling along as postmaster of the city.

"The late Capt. Beger, who organized the Port Washington company during the war of the rebellion, and whose nephew, Richard Beger, is still the superintendent of the Ozaukee county schools, was stationed for a long time with his company near Washington, D. C. President Lincoln made frequent calls in the regimental camps, and meeting Capt. Beger one day, he inquired:

"Where are you boys from?"

"Wisconsin," replied the captain.

"Wisconsin! What part of Wisconsin?" inquired President Lincoln.

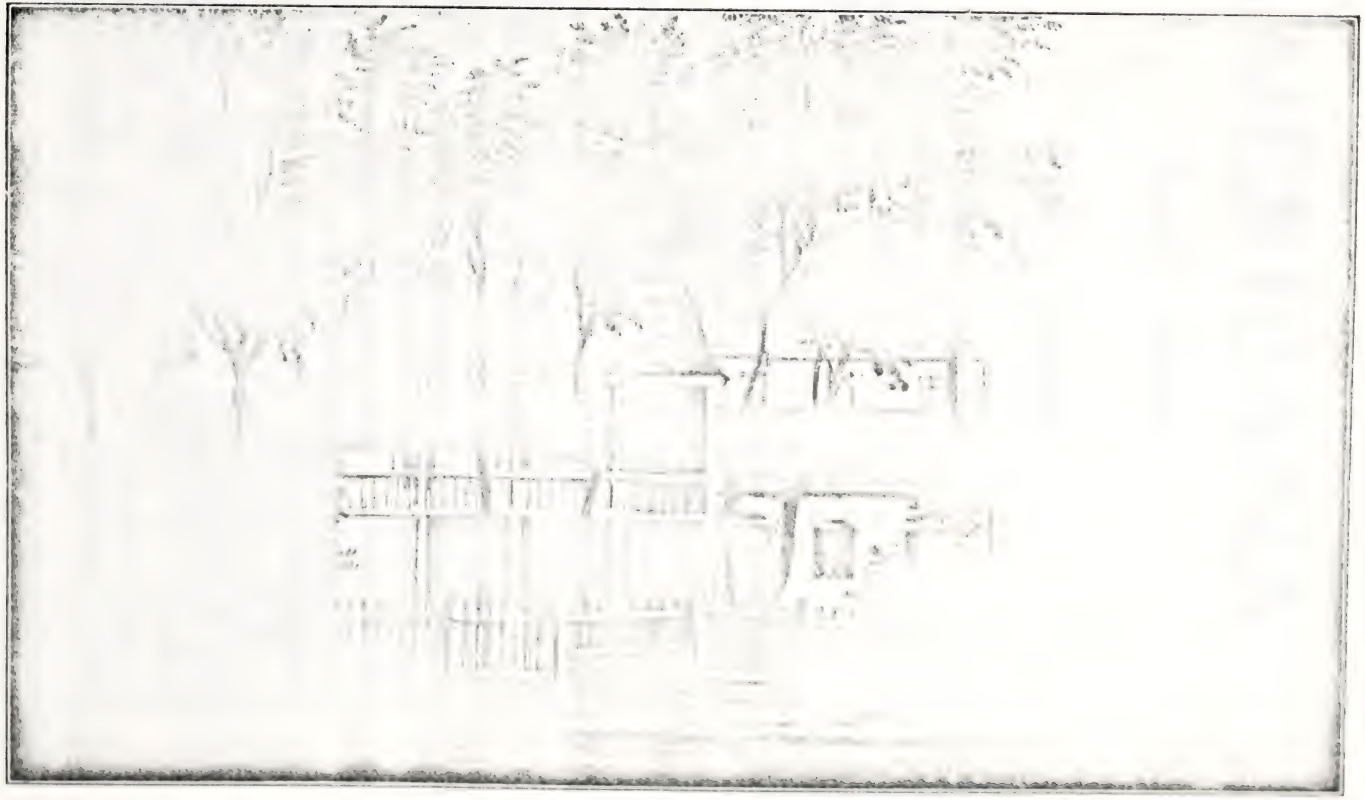
"Port Washington."

"Port Washington, the place that was formerly known as Wisconsin City?"

"I believe so."

"Well, well," replied President Lincoln, "I had made up my mind at one time to locate there. I rented an office and was to have moved there in the spring, but was prevented from doing so by the floods."

"Had President Lincoln located at Port Washington, with about 400 Republican voters in Ozaukee county and more than 3,000 Democrats to offset them, the prospects are that he never would have been heard of outside of his county, and his chances for becoming president of the United States would have ended right then and there. History hangs on a slender thread, when you come to think of it."—Milwaukee Daily News. Contributed by Duane Mowry, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



CATO'S HOUSE,
On the Old Post Road, erected 1712 and kept as a Public House by him 48 years

AMERICANA

April, 1916

Cato's Tavern

By Hopper Striker Mott.

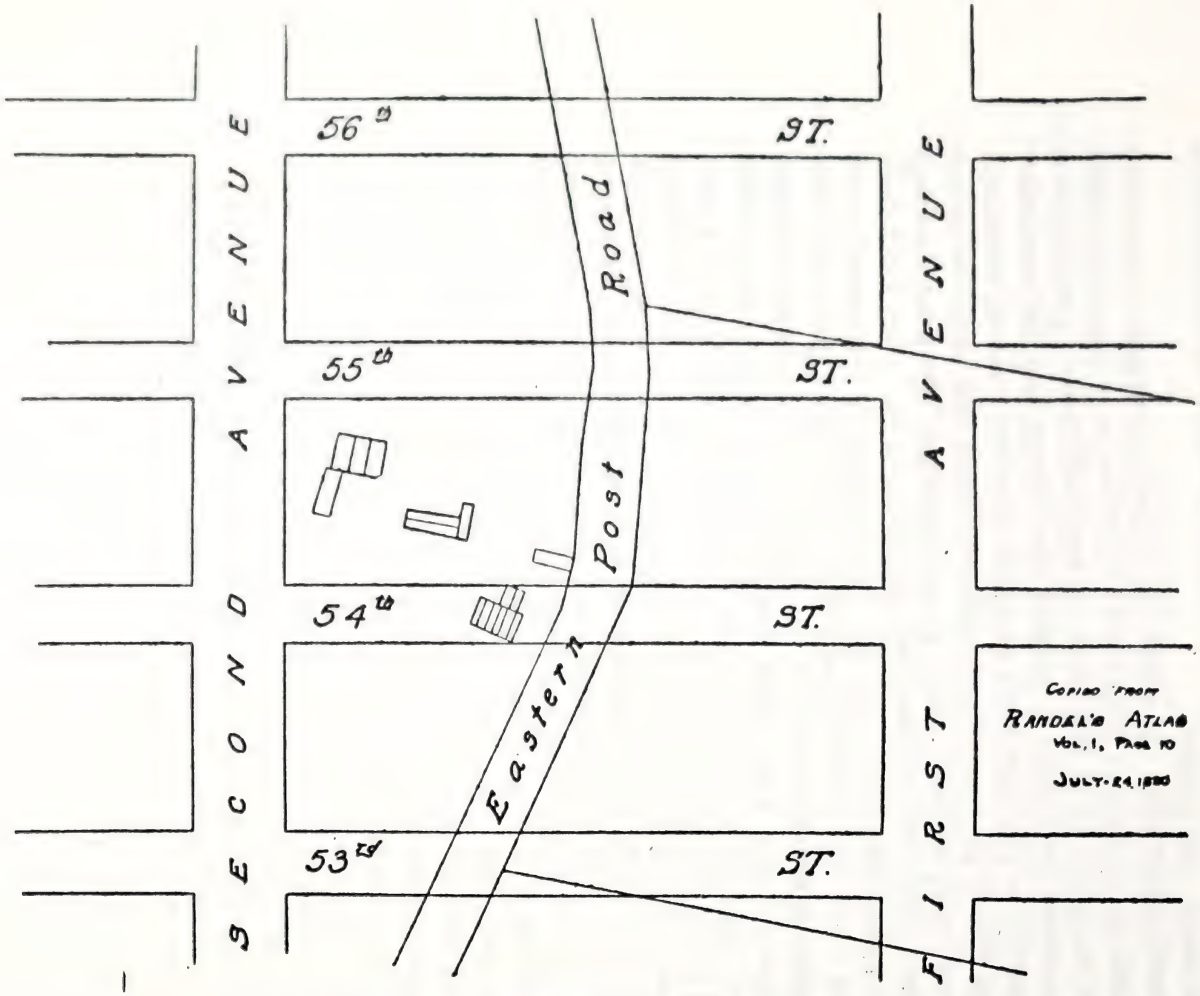
Trustee and Treasurer of The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and Editor of *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*

THE Bloomingdale Road vied with the Post Road as the great drive from the city. On both were located, at convenient intervals, taverns for the refreshment of man and beast. The latter highway was the original thoroughfare for pleasure vehicles before the laying out of the favorite west side road and as such became famous in local annals. As early as 1810 the danger of taking an afternoon's drive in any carriage was so imminent that many, especially invalids and ladies, were frightened at the hazard to be encountered thereby. "Gay young men riding gay young horses" were even then the bugbear of the police, who had their hands full in keeping mettlesome steeds within bounds. "Numerous of these gilded striplings, jockies, tandem and butterfly gentry, having more money than manners and more wine in their bellies than wisdom in their brains," says a correspondent in the *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, of May 8, "find it the highest attainment to which their miserable intellects can reach to dash along at full gallop, utterly regardless of the rights, the feelings or the danger to which others are exposed by their vanity and folly. It is painful—it is shameful to observe the conduct of swarms in carriages and on horseback as they

pass along. No polite regard for another's comfort, no decent occupancy of ground, no moderate pace to avert the dangers of a crowded road, nothing to be seen but what is to be feared, a galloping, dashing multitude heedless of their own safety and totally regardless of the safety of others, and it being a lamentable truth that a 'want of decency is a want of sense,' a large portion of our youth are without proper cultivation of mind, they may be expected in all cases to *drive on* without any of the restraints which good sense imposes, which public opinion approves and common decency requires." Truly a virile indictment the writer of which then propounds the query: "Will not the majesty of our city devise some means to protect the sober and peaceful inhabitants from the constant risk of broken bones by these lawless sons of inebriety and folly and will not the thinking part of the community aid them in accomplishing the good work?" There was passed in 1823 (chap. XXXIII. Sec. 20) an ordinance which prohibited the driving of "one horse before another, in the manner commonly called tandem, otherwise than on a walk, within the lamp and watch districts of the said city, under the penalty of five dollars for each offense." This did not much help the situation here and conditions continued fully as bad. An editorial in the *Evening Post* of March 27, 1828, under the heading of "Another Dangerous Nuisance," tells of conditions at that date. The paper says:

"We have been called on more than once this forenoon to request us to raise our voice against a late, very frequent and dangerous practice which now prevails to an alarming extent of trotting horses at the top of their speed both in harness and under the saddle from about three miles on the high road from what is known as Cato's into the heart of the city without any regard to whoever or whatever they meet in their way; neither lessening their speed, nor turning out nor in any respect paying the least regard to any one, man, woman, or child. We hope that our grand juries will take the matter in charge. In vain have we appealed to the Corporation."

And in an article in the *Commercial Advertiser*, of August 14, 1824, deploring the breaking of the Sabbath, the matter is referred to in this wise: "On that day we have pleasure parties



Cato's Tavern, Horse-shed and Out-buildings

upon the water, deliberately advertised; our bloods dash off in gigs and phaetons to Harlem, Cato's, etc., while in the very heart of the city the public gardens are kept open for the reception and entertainment of company, and what is still more censurable, if possible, is the fact that in the most busy and most fashionable parts of the city, shops are also open through the Sabbath and refreshments of every kind exhibited and sold as on week days."

These rushing cavalcades were bound to and from Cato Alexander's and Dyde's road houses. The latter was at 61st. Street and the East River and occupied the country seat which was erected by Col. William S. Smith, Minister to Great Britain, 1785-8, under John Adams, whose only daughter Abigail he married. The former, located on the Post Road at 54th. Street was the older resort and the more famous in local history.

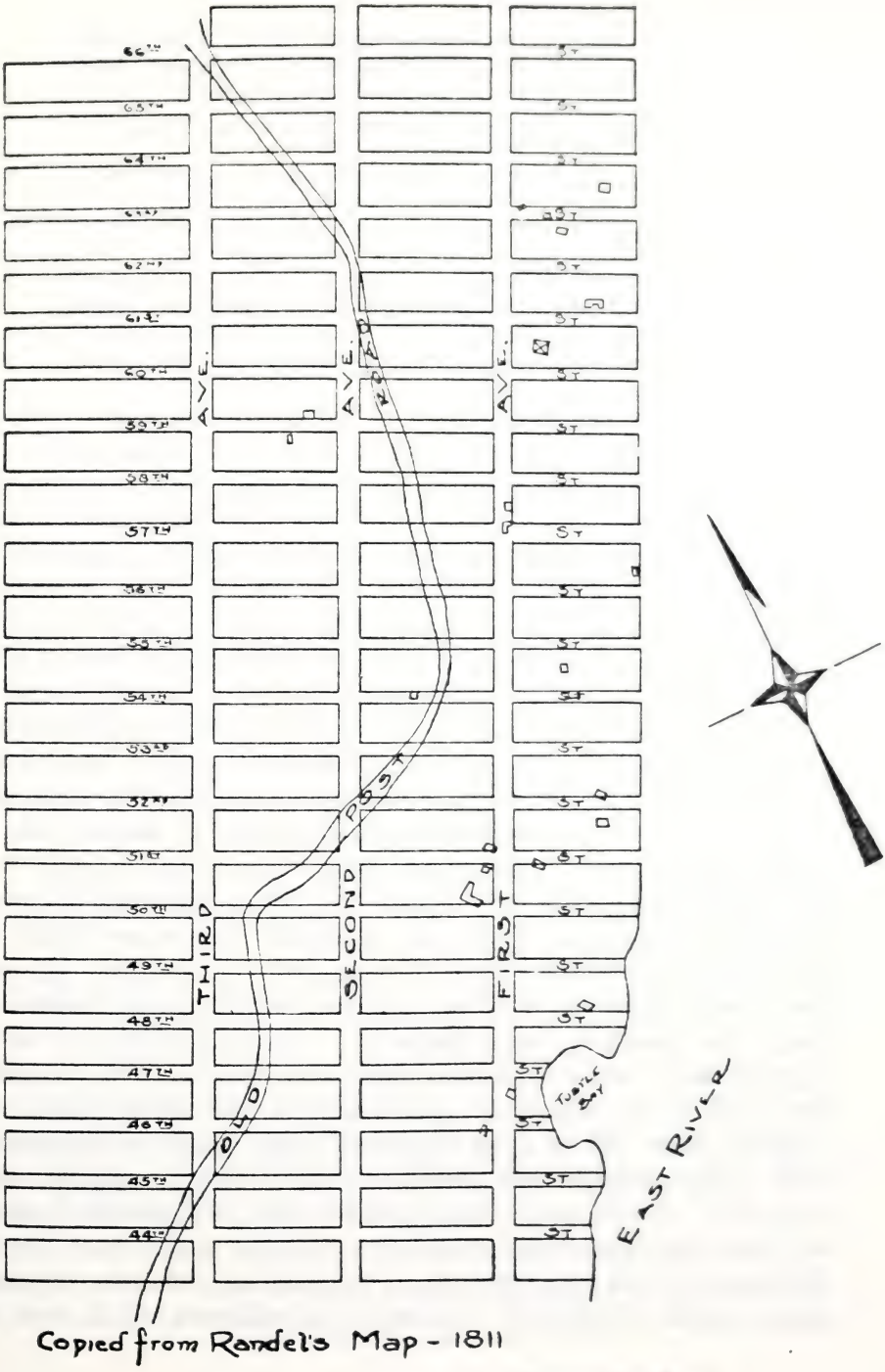
Mrs. Earle, at p. 40 of her book, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*, says that the house was built in 1712 but gives no authority for the statement. She relates further that Cato was a negro slave who had so mastered various specialties in cooking that he was able to earn money to buy his freedom from his South Carolina master. He kept the inn for forty-eight years. Those who tasted his okra soup, his terrapin, fried chicken, curried oysters, roast duck or drank his New York brandy punch, his Virginia egg-nogg or South Carolina milk punch, wondered how anyone who owned him ever could sell him even to himself. Alongside his road house he built a ball-room which would let thirty couple swing widely in energetic reels and quadrilles. When Christmas sleighing set in, the Knickerbocker braves and belles drove out there to dance; and there was *always* sleighing at Christmas in old New York—all octogenarians will tell you so. Cato's egg-nogg was mixed in single relays by the barrelful. He knew precisely the mystic time when the separated white and yolk was beaten enough, he knew the exact modicum of sugar, he could count with precision the grains of nutmeg that should fleck the compound, he could top off to exactness the white egg foam. The picture is from the *Manual* of 1853 and all will agree with Mrs. Earle, after examination, that "it seems but a shabby building to have held so many gay scenes."

It was Cato's popularity with the people he served that kept

them faithful to his resort. His long and intimate contact with them, says Dayton, had imparted to his gentle, modest nature an unpretending dignity of manner which won the esteem of all who approached him and secured for his humble house of entertainment such a widespread reputation that it remained the noted halting place of the road and one of the prominent resorts of the city for so many years. It was located in full view of the point where stood, on East 51st. Street, the shot tower which George Youle built in 1821 and which remained to recent times. Dayton describes the quaint old bar-room and diminutive sitting room and mentions their sanded floors which were scrupulously neat and the coarse white-washed walls, covered with odd engravings of the olden time which would prove such rare curiosities today. Here it was, he relates, where Cato daily dispensed creature comforts to the Hones, Carters, Beekmans, Tallmadges, Janeways, van Cortlandts and others of that day. For his was the fashionable road house. His suppers were proverbial for excellence and he acquired wealth accordingly. It is related that he had a daughter whose weight in gold he offered to any respectable white man who would marry her. But there was another side to the presentment. The horsemen of the day convened here, for Cato was a driver and jockey of renown and at his resort the preliminaries of races, duels, fights and other sporting events were either arranged or "pulled off." A colored gentleman of parts, he well understood the handling of other gentlemen of like proclivities. Haswell says that imported Havanas were sold five for a shilling (12½ cents, New York currency) and pure brandy at sixpence (6¼ cents) per glass.

Many references to Cato and his establishment are to be found in the literature of his period. In the Salmagundi papers Washington Irving descants on the Kissing bridge, the location of which was fixed by the editor of the Paris edition, "as near 50th. Street and the site of old Cato's" and a number of times Fitz-Green Halleck uses the place in his poems, notably in "The Love of Notoriety," in which the antics of the drivers on the road are exploited and this verse appears:

> "And for this, little Brummagem mounts with a smile
> His own hackney buggy and dashes in style



Cato's Lane—A Stretch of the Eastern Post Road

From some livery stable to Cato's Hotel,
And though 'tis a desperate task to be striving
With these sons of John Bull in the science of driving
We have still a few Jockies who do it as well."

"To the Baron von Hoffman" is another lyric where Cato's is mentioned in this wise:

"Yet long upon Harlem's gray rocks and green highlands
Shall Burnham and Cato remember the name
Of him who away in the far British Islands
Now lights his cigar at the blaze of his fame."

The Baron was an adventurer who had been courted and caressed in fashionable circles until detected as an imposter. He disappeared from New York in the early 'twenties and was last heard from in Dublin.

Writing of a time twenty-five to thirty years antecedent, as he states, (1806-1811) William Dunlap in "The Memories of a Water Drinker" (Vol. I. Edition 1836: 117) tells of a walking trip to Cato's and draws a moral through a temperance tale, at a time when no societies existed the mission of which was to further that commendable cause—commendable because temperance in all things is a virtue. A whole chapter is given to description of the resort and a duel which took place there. From it this portion is pertinent and interesting:

"Who has not heard of Cato Alexander's? Not to know Cato's is not to know the world. At least it was so thought twenty-five or thirty years ago. Between four and five miles northeast of the City Hall, on the west side of the old Boston road, stands this celebrated tavern, owned and kept by Cato Alexander and called from its landlord 'Cato's.' It would puzzle anybody but a philosopher to find a reason for that preference 'Cato's' has enjoyed for many years over all the many receptacles of idleness and intemperance which stand invitingly open on the road and avenues leading to and from our moral and religious city. We, being a philosopher, have found it and communicate. It is preferred from other houses of refuge from temperance, not because its situation has more of rural retirement for it stands full in view of the traveller or wayfarer. It is not a retreat from

noise, for that resounds within, nor from dust, for that it invites and receives from every wheel and hoof that passes. It is not preferred because it enjoys or gives its visitors better or more extensive prospects than its rivals, for it commands no view but of the dirty high-road, a cabbage garden, a horse-shed and a sign-post; nor is it chosen for that the breezes of either land or sea bear health or refreshment to its admirers; for the land rises on every side, barring every wind that blows from visiting it too roughly. Neither is it the spacious apartments or elegant furniture that gives it preference, for its inmates are cabined, cribbed and confined in cells like acorn cups, compared with the halls and saloons of the town hotels and gambling houses. But Mrs. Cato is a notable cook! The 'Cabin is convenient.' There are none but black faces belonging to the establishment. We feel that we are 'right worshipful.' All around is subserviency. Desdemona saw Othello's visage in his mind; it is to *some*, pleasing to see the badge of subserviency in the visage. To this convenient court of conviviality we approached. Iced punch was seized by my companion, this after a heated and long walk under a clear October sun. 'Master Cato!' said he, 'neither Rome nor Utica ever could boast such a bowl of iced punch as this!' And through the glossy ebony shown the tawny and crimson streaks of red blood which marked his cheeks with delight.'' And later goaded on by badinage and liquor two of the habitues fell to quarreling and as pistols were always in readiness a contest was incited in which much earnestness on the part of at least one of the principals was evident. It turned out, however, to be a mock duel as the pistols were not loaded. The horse-shed, which ''stood in front of the house,'' played its part in this farce.

''Cato's dwelling'' stood a few feet south of the corner of 54th. Street near Second Avenue. Having fallen a victim to the charms of Miss Eliza Jackson of Brooklyn he was married to her by the Rev. Peter Williams on August 20, 1828. The announcement in the *Evening Post* of the 23rd, closes with this verse:

Cato the great has changed his state,
From single to that of double;
May a long life with a Jackson wife,
Attend him void of trouble.

John T. Boyd, auctioneer, of 137 Broadway, advertised in the *Commercial Advertiser* of Friday evening, January 2, 1829, the sale of the entire stock of household and kitchen furniture contained in "the well known residence of Cato Alexander" on the Harlem Road about four and a half miles from the city; "also paintings and prints as rare a collection as any in the city," also the farming utensils, horses, cows, etc., together with the right, title and interest in the building erected by him consisting of a part of the dwelling-house and a building containing two nine-pin alleys and two shuffle boards. This sale took place at the property. On the following Monday the sale continued at the Bull's Head, the Bowery and Fourth Street. Cato continued to live in one of the houses shown on the maps herewith and in 1838 a small house in the centre of his garden and adjoining his dwelling was offered for hire. (*Courier and Enquirer*, April 10.)

His place was approached by way of a lane which carried his name, as did many other landmarks in the neighborhood. Third Avenue was legally opened from the Bowery to Harlem on August 4, 1814, and when thereafter it was physically opened, which Goodrich's *Picture of New York*, p. 140, states was prior to 1828, the entire six miles from Vaux hall to the Harlem River, the Post Road was closed in portions and travellers used the new avenue to its junction with the old road. This latter then, at this locality, became known as Cato's Lane and we are informed by Dayton that the tavern was on a circular road, about three-quarters of a mile in length, which left Third Avenue and again met it at a point where the depot of that Railroad Company now stands at 65th. Street,—exactly the description of this portion of the Post Road.

De Voor's mill stream, the Saw Kill or Saw Kill Creek, which started from the high ground of upper Central Park, crossed the road at 52nd. Street, (page 7 of the Blue Book; Viele's Topographical Map) spanned by one of the three Kissing bridges noted in early history. The Rev. Andrew Burnaby, vicar of Greenwich, in his *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years* 1759 *and* 1760, thus explains the custom through which the appellation arose.

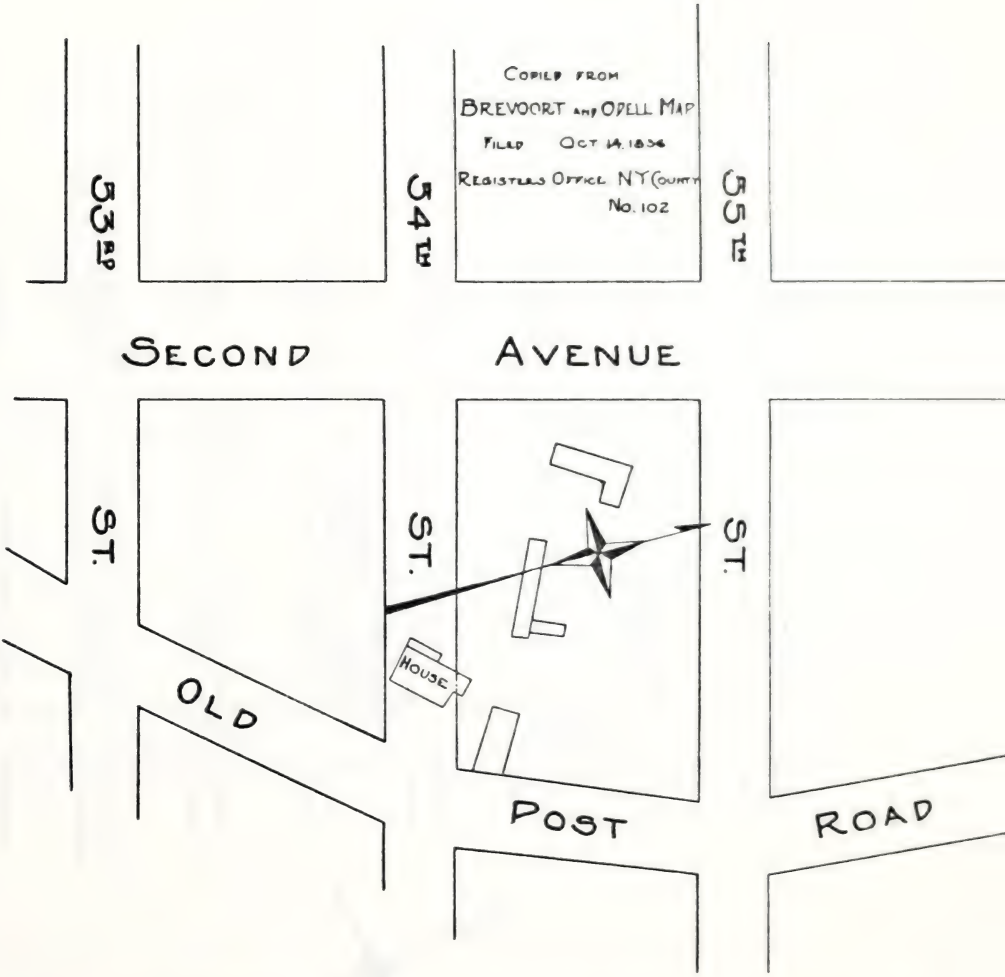
"The amusements of the New Yorkers are balls and sleighing

expeditions in the winter; in the summer, going in parties upon the water and fishing or making excursions into the country. There are several houses pleasantly situated upon East River near New York, where it is common to have turtle feasts; these happen once or twice in a week. Thirty or forty gentlemen and ladies meet and dine together, drink tea in the afternoon, fish and amuse themselves until evening and then return home in Italian chaises, a gentleman and lady in each chaise. In the way there is a bridge about three miles distant from New York called the Kissing bridge, where it is a part of the etiquette to salute the lady who has put herself under your protection."

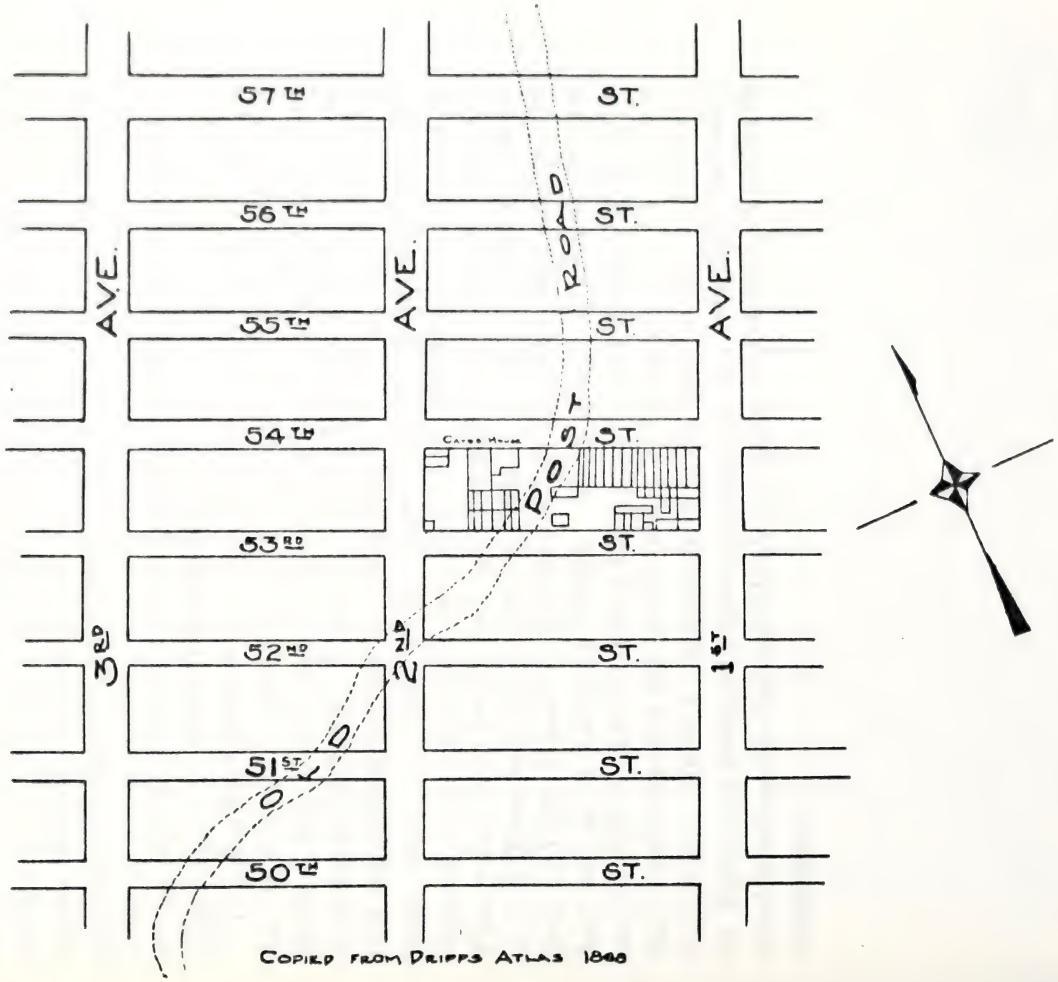
A worthy old gentleman, who had been somewhat a beau in his day, and whose eyes brightened at the bare mention of this bridge, is quoted in Salmagundi, as recalling several of his youthful exploits at that celebrated pass, on which he seemed to dwell with great pleasure and self-complacency. He hoped that the bridge might be preserved for the benefit of posterity and as a monument of the gallantry of their grandfathers and even hinted at the expediency of erecting a toll-gate there, to collect the forfeits of the ladies.

On the Lane, at its junction with 47th. Street, was situated a public house known as the Lafayette Retreat which in the late 'thirties and early 'forties had quite a vogue. This was surrounded by an acre of ground and had stable accommodations. In the *Sun* of August 9, 1843, it was advertised to lease.

By courtesy of J. Pennington Gill, Esq., chief surveyor of the city, the accompanying maps which give the exact location of Cato's were obtained. Randel's of 1811 places it in the centre of 54th. Street, west of the Post Road, at a period of which Dunlap wrote. Although he mentions the horse-shed this map fails to represent it. However it delimits the extent of the Lane, as it was later known, from its crossing at Third Avenue and 45th. Street to its entrance again into that Avenue at 66th. Street. In the next map of date, 1820, Randel is more explicit and there not only does the shed appear with its gable to the road for the convenience of drivers, but other outbuildings are placed in "Cato's garden," one of which was doubtless his "dwelling" and the other the bowling alley. The identical buildings were still stand-



Cato's Tavern, Horse-sheds and Out-buildings, Identical with the Plan of 1820



Showing Definite Location of Cato's

ing according to the Brevoort plan of 1836, the source from which Tuttle acquired his map, (*Tuttle's Abstracts*, 39th. to 70th. Streets, p. 173) but had disappeared entirely on Dripp's Atlas, 1868, although the site of the house is specifically shown. The outlines of the Post Road are continued notwithstanding that its bed between 53rd. and 54th. Streets was conveyed by the city to James Barrett, on December 20, 1852, (L. 620: 629) and that portion of it between 54th. and 55th. Streets to the Executors of Charles King, in 1854. (L. 657: 688) As there is no conveyance of record to or from Cato Alexander he must have hired the property on an unrecorded indenture.

The earliest notice in the City directory is in Mercein's edition for 1820, which lists Cato as keeping a tavern opposite the Harlem Road, and singularly he does not appear therein again anywhere for thirty odd years. In the Wilson edition for 1852-53 it is stated that he had an oyster saloon at 556 Broadway and also lived there. At this time he had ceased to preside over his famous resort and had moved to this Broadway place, which Paul van Name conducted in 1851 and from which he removed to 718 Broadway to a saloon formerly kept by Henry Ewell. During 1855, '6 and '7 Cato was at 185 Church Street and in 1858 he lived at 12 Leonard Street. He ceases to appear after that and is said to have died that year aged 77, practically in poverty, his patrons having taken advantage of his generosity by borrowing freely. He was a famous man in his generation. A sable son of Africa, he lived and died respected in a community far more aristocratic and exclusive than its more pretentious democratic successors.

The Burr—Hamilton Duel

Being a Reprint of the Correspondence between Hamilton and Burr just before the Encounter and a Description of the Duel itself.

By William W. Brewton of the Atlanta Bar.

THE settlement of modern disputes so far differs from the methods used by men of a century ago that it is peculiarly interesting to investigate the circumstances under which enemies of former times were led to dueling. As every one is aware, in the days of Knighthood it was considered as virtually nothing for a man to inquire the hour of the night, and suddenly leave a brilliant festive board to hasten to settle, as he would lightly assert, "some slight grievance" with a gentleman acquaintance. Whereupon, he would meet his rival at an early morning hour and ere long one of the two would be reported dead. Today men seek other methods—either in courts, by secret injury, or by open murder—to settle their personal grievances.

However, as late as the nineteenth century men were constantly fighting duels. Many illustrious names, bearing numerous honors for statesmanship, political sagacity, military ability, and even philanthropy, are listed among duelists. Pitt, Wellington, Canning, Thiers, Lamartine, D'Israeli, Wilkes, Jeffrey, Sheridan, Fox, Grattan, Peel, Gates, Clinton, Randolph, Benton, Clay, Jackson, Decatur, Arnold, Walpole, and others, less famous, are recorded as at some time having fought a duel.

However remarkable may have been the encounters of any of the above, the affair of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr is the most famous, and presents the most striking incidents. There was no hastiness in this duel. No man in American history ever received while alive more slander than Aaron Burr. Hamil-

ton had at every step of Burr's career given him opposition of some kind. Hamilton while a great and useful man, is not at all free from a record of questionable and shady political schemes, unjust dealing, and deception, all of which so many writers have joined to Burr's name. It will be recalled that Hamilton, when John Adams and C. C. Pinckney were candidates for President and Vice-President respectively, is recorded as having invented a scheme of deluding the people into thinking that they were voting for Adams, when casting their ballots for legislators, instead of Pinckney; whereas their votes were really to effect the placing of Adams back in the Vice-presidency and Gen. Pinckney in the President's chair.

Hamilton never endeavored to totally excuse his vituperativeness, also Burr has often been scored on this point, and perhaps justly so. But Hamilton's secret pamphlet: "A Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esquire, President of the United States," a copy of which accidently fell into Burr's hands, caused even Adams to doubt Hamilton's sincerity from then on. Adams was shocked on learning of the circulation of this letter; he considered it "a blow below the belt," and while always willing to speak kindly of Burr, though acquainted, of course, with the nature of his faults, he could never speak encouragingly of Hamilton again.

Hamilton's fight on Burr, when the latter was a candidate for the Presidency, was never as considerate or conservative as it might have been. He considered Burr as capable of establishing Jacobinical methods in America, a mingler with both Republicans (Democrats) and Federalists. To an extent this was true. Burr was a radical; he believed in the people, and may have been a demagogue. He had no grand plan, policy, or platform. Hamilton thus considered him unaccountable and dangerous. His opposition to Burr was entirely legitimate so far as governmental policy was concerned, so long as he considered Burr a national menace. Yet we find that Jefferson refers to Hamilton as the "evil genius of this country," although it was Burr who had been his practical opponent and had tied him in the Presidential election. We find Hamilton writing to friends concerning Burr: "Every step in his career proves that he has

formed himself upon the world of Catiline, and that he is too coldblooded and determined a conspirator to change his plan." Every banquet toast of Burr's which contained a smack of political theory was denounced by Hamilton, which denunciation was always brought to the former's notice by friends.

Yet Hamilton's attack on Jacobinical theory and loose democracy was assuredly a benefit to America, and his vision as to personal injury he was doing Burr may have been clouded thereby. One writer of a half-century after the Hamilton-Burr encounter seems to attribute Burr's final losses and mistakes to his having entered politics: "Accursed be Politics forever: The Maelstrom that has drawn in and engulfed so many able and worthy men. . . . To abolish politics altogether is perhaps the atonement America is, one day, going to make to an outraged world, for sinking to the deepest deep, and wallowing in the filthiest filth of political turpitude." Indeed, Hamilton was the greater of the two in the political field, and perhaps it had been better if Burr's life had been entirely separated from this sphere; and though Hamilton was doubtless right in saying that Burr was better adapted to a political plot than to a "great and wise drama," yet on investigating the final combat between these two historical figures, it must be said that Burr cannot be discredited, further, of course, than in being party to an act intrinsically wrong and absurd.

The immediate rivalry between the two was incident to Burr's candidacy for Governor of New York, which Hamilton bitterly and unscrupulously opposed. During this election one Dr. Charles D. Cooper wrote a letter to a friend in which he declared that Hamilton regarded Burr as a dangerous man in politics. He also said: "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which Gen. Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." This letter was published in a newspaper, and six weeks after the election a copy was placed in Burr's hands. Whereupon Burr sent the following note through his friend, Judge William P. Van Ness, to Hamilton:

New York, June 18th, 1804.

Sir:

I send for your perusal a letter signed Charles D. Cooper, which though apparently published some time ago, has but very

recently come to my knowledge. Mr. Van Ness, who does me the favor to deliver this, will point out to you that clause of the letter to which I particularly request your attention.

You must perceive, sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant the assertions of Mr. Cooper.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

A. Burr.

General Hamilton.

It will be noticed that at the end of this note are the closing lines characteristic of the social formalities of Burr's day. "I have the honor to be your obedient servant" placed at the end of a letter on such a delicate subject in this day and time would create a laugh instead of excite wrathful pride as this one did in the case of Hamilton. The reply, while revealing hidden and restrained indignation, is for the most part an aversion of Burr's request. And this continued aversion of the satisfaction Burr sought; this continued refusal to acknowledge or deny finally precipitated the sad event of the duel, which unfortunately these two great men would not prevent by an open and sensible settlement. However, if Hamilton had advised Burr as to just what he had said, and had either made overtures for reconciliation, if wrong, or stated the full circumstances under which he had expressed himself, if right, there is little doubt that Burr, naturally generous and kind, would have gone no further with the affair. Hamilton's reply in part is as follows:

New York, June 20th, 1804.

Sir:

I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th inst., and the more I have reflected the more I have become convinced that I could not, without manifest impropriety, make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms: "I could detail to you *a still more despicable* opinion which Gen. Hamilton *has expressed* of Mr. Burr." . . .

Between gentlemen *despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of distinction; when, therefore, you do not interrogate me as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude that you view it as within the limits to which

the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and, consequently, as not warranting the idea which Dr. Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you *still more despicable* than the one which is particularized? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents? . . . I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman. More than this cannot be fitly expected of me; and, especially, it cannot be reasonably expected that I shall enter into any explanation upon a basis so vague as that you have adopted. I trust, on more reflection, you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstances, and must abide the consequences.

The publication of Dr. Cooper was never seen by me until after the receipt of your letter. I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. Hamilton.

Colonel Burr.

It is most obvious, from the above letter, the course General Hamilton had taken. Upon a matter of direct inquiry he had founded views of philosophy. Satisfaction, openly and plainly sought for by Colonel Burr, was as nicely and smoothly avoided as the great genius of Hamilton for philosophical and highly involved discourse would allow.

Judge Van Ness delivered the above to Colonel Burr on Thursday morning the twenty-first; and delivered General Hamilton the following reply on Friday the twenty-second, at twelve o'clock:

New York, June 21st, 1804.

Your letter of the 20th inst. has been this day received. Having considered it attentively, I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value.

Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a vigil adherence to the laws of honor and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege nor indulge it in others.

The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Dr. Cooper the idea of dishonour. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax and with grammatical accuracy, but wheth-

er you have authorized this application, either directly or by uttering opinions derogatory to my honour. The time "when" is in your knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable.

Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, your obedient,

A. Burr.

General Hamilton.

Hamilton requested Judge Van Ness to detail to Burr that since no specific charge had been outlined (which he would have frankly answered) he felt under no obligation to answer the letter, and that he was sorry Burr could not adopt the views he had outlined in his (Hamilton's) first letter. He would have him say also that, if Burr was disposed to view the matter with hostility, he would consider the latter's last letter undelivered, and would make no reply. Van Ness then stated to Hamilton that, if he meant to say, in his last communication, he could recollect no terms which would warrant the statement of Dr. Cooper, Colonel Burr would consider the matter accommodated and closed. General Hamilton refused to say whether the assertions purported to be his were his or not.

Colonel Burr then communicated that he was far from conceiving rivalry to authorize a course of freedom not justifiable otherwise; that he would speak of a rival only in terms of respect; that simple avowal or disavowal of intention on the part of General Hamilton, in his conversation, to convey meanings derogatory to the honor of Burr was desired. This Hamilton had refused: this which he could easily do within gentlemanly honor. Burr had been the object of continuous slander, and had for years made no reply until the persecution had become an humiliation. He would be obliged to conclude pure malevolence on the part of General Hamilton. He was incapable of revenge, or the committing of a depredation on the fame and character of his opponent,—but that the existing slanders must come to an end. He had no course but the one he had adopted to right the situation and establish his own position.

On Monday, June 25th, Judge Van Ness called upon Nathaniel Pendleton, Hamilton's friend and second in the subsequent duel. From the latter he received the following letter for Colonel Burr:

New York, June 25th, 1804.

SIR:

Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it; but, by your last letter received this day, containing expressions indecorous and improper, you have increased the difficulties to explanation intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

If by a "definite reply" you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no answer to give than that which has already been given. If you mean anything different, admitting of greater lattitude, it is requisite that you should explain.

I have the honor to be, sir your obedient servant,

Alex. Hamilton.

A. Burr, Esq.

On June 26th, Judge Van Ness communicated to Mr. Pendleton that General Hamilton's letters evinced no intention of coming to a satisfactory accommodation, and that "the reparations expected are so definitely expressed in Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st inst., there is not perceived a necessity for further explanation on his part."

Mr. Pendleton made reply that General Hamilton was prepared to meet any specific charge, but felt under no obligations to answer at large as to everything he may have said as to Colonel Burr.

Judge Van Ness replied that Burr felt that as a gentleman he should rightly vindicate his assailed honor "at such hazard as the case demands." He stated further that the lengthy correspondence had been fruitless, and he would now deliver a request. This request was a challenge to a duel, and was acceded to. The two seconds began immediately to arrange for the encounter. Mr. Pendleton, on June 27th, approached Van Ness with anoth-

er letter from Hamilton, which Van Ness refused to accept on the ground that the challenge to duel had already been accepted; but stating that any letter of explanation, of a nature as first requested, would be received with pleasure, inasmuch as Colonel Burr would desire to prevent an actual combat, if it could be done honorably, being by nature opposed to such methods of settlement. The letter referred to was only on the same line as the previous one, expressing also the General's desire to avoid extremities, if such could be done with propriety.

Much has been written on Hamilton's acceptance of a proposal which his intellect told him was unwise, and his conscience told him was wrong. On the evening before the encounter, Hamilton himself penned a statement which explains his position. In it he said that out of consideration of religion, his family, his creditors, the fact that he bore Colonel Burr no malice, and that "lastly I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview," he could not sensibly accede to the course before him; yet conformity to existing prejudice was absolutely pertinent. He closed this statement by saying: "The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in the crisis of a public affair which seemed likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity to prejudice in this particular." He stated too that perhaps he had been inconsiderate in his charges, though he believed he held strong reasons for his statements against Colonel Burr.

This statement was more reasonable than the preceding ones, and perhaps, with some strengthening and an earlier communication, would have prevented the duel. With it were combined the General's will and instructions for the disposition of valuable documents.

Also on the evening of July 10th, the duel being arranged by the seconds to be held on the morning of the eleventh, Colonel Burr wrote a letter to his much beloved daughter, Theodosia, in which he said: "Having lately written my will, and given my private letters and papers in charge to you, I have no other directions to give you on the subject but to request you to burn all such as, if by accident made public, would injure any person. This is more particularly applicable to the letters of my female

correspondents." Following this was a tender expression of love for Theodosia and her husband, general directions as to property, and words of regard for kinsmen and close friends. In a letter left to Joseph, his son-in-law, he said concerning the duel: "I have called out General Hamilton, and we meet tomorrow morning . . . If it should be my lot to fall . . . yet I shall live in you and your son."

At seven o'clock on the morning of July 11, 1804, this, the most memorable personal encounter in American history, took place. The fatal spot was a grassy ledge, six feet wide and eleven paces long, overlooking the Hudson River and two miles and a half above the present city of Hoboken. This place was known as Weehawken Heights. Many a duel had been fought here, the place was famous for such. A good-hearted old captain living near would always rush in upon the rivals and plead with them to cease such unmanly engagements, whenever he got ear of an encounter. However, in this case he heard nothing. Colonel Burr and Judge Van Ness landed at the appointed place first, at half-past six. Contemporaries, writing of this occasion, have pointed out that the scenery here was very beautiful—the flowing Hudson, the picturesque promontory, Castile Point, the distant "blue and misty" Staten Island. But here amidst this splendor of Nature was to be enacted a shameless and pitiful sacrifice to vanity and pride. A grand and glorious expression of natural truth was to be outraged by a shameless expression of human artificiality.

The boat of Hamilton and his second was seen approaching. The two landed and ascended the height. The seconds made preliminaries according to previous agreement. Ten paces were measured and lots were cast for choice of position and to determine who should give the word. Both fell to Pendleton, the second of General Hamilton. The rules upon which the seconds had agreed were: "The parties being placed at their stations, the second who gives the word shall ask them whether they are ready; being answered in the affirmative, he shall say—*present*. After this the parties shall present and fire *when they please*. If one fires before the other, the opposite second shall say *one, two, three, fire,* and he shall then fire or loose his fire."

The principals were now ready, both keen and alert, both constitutionally opposed to dueling. Hamilton was a much smaller man than Burr, but not a less dignified person or a less striking one in appearance. He took his place overlooking the river and facing the city, which position was perhaps not the best on account of the glare of the sun on the surface of the water. Burr faced the heights. Pendleton handed Hamilton his pistol and asked, "Will you have the hair-spring set?"

"Not this time," was the reply. Explanations being made, the seconds withdrew a distance.

"Are you ready?" said Hamilton's second.

The answer was in the affirmative.

"*Present.*"

Burr aimed and fired. Hamilton reeled forward and while falling discharged his pistol far above his opponent's head. Burr rushed forward to Hamilton, seeing the fall, showing pain on his face. Van Ness, however, rushed him away to the boat and to his home, Richmond Hill. Dr. Hosack, Mr. Pendleton, a Mr. Davis, and a boatman tenderly bore the great statesman to a boat and away to a friend's home near by.

In the boat Hamilton was heard to say: "Pendleton knows I did not intend to fire at him."

It is needless to portray here the grief of the wife and seven children. Bravery was shown by the victim throughout the suffering. His comforting words to his wife were: "Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian." He lived on for thirty-one hours. It was Wednesday morning when the duel was fought, Hamilton died at two o'clock on Thursday afternoon.

On arriving at Richmond Hill, after the duel, Burr dined a friend whom he had invited, who went away never dreaming of what had taken place, so calm had been his host's demeanor. In town, however, he saw this bulletin:

GENERAL HAMILTON WAS SHOT BY COLONEL BURR THIS MORNING IN A DUEL. THE GENERAL IS SAID TO BE MORTALLY WOUNDED.

From now on things were hot for Burr. His side was not considered at all. While Columbia College, Tammany Society, the

Cincinnati, and other organizations were observing sorrow for their chief, and expressing the grief Hamilton so much merited, Burr was forced to escape. He departed for St. Simon's Island, Georgia, from whence he wrote many letters to his daughter and to friends. Some of these letters mention visits to Darien, Ga., a riverside settlement not far from the island. He afterwards returned to Washington and New York, and was partially reinstated in public favor.

The coroner's jury, investigating the result of the duel, had reported that "Aaron Burr, Esq., Vice President of the United States, is guilty of murder, and Wm. P. Van Ness, and Nathaniel Pendleton are accessories." Mr. Davis and one other had been committed to prison for refusing to testify.

However, on his return, Burr was again a gallant society gentleman, and in some respects was much in favor.

A monument with an iron railing was erected on the scene of the duel, to the memory of Hamilton, by the St. Andrew's Society of New York. This emblem has since been removed, and only with a guide can one today find the spot among the heights.

Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

By Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, M. A., D. C. L.

No. VI

Migrations From New England in 1749 and 1760.

"The present population of Nova Scotia is not the development of a single primitive nucleus or germ. Neither has it resulted from a gradual and almost imperceptible sifting in of promiscuous elements. It is mainly the product of certain well-defined immigrations of considerable size, capable of being more easily traced because as a rule they have occurred consecutively rather than simultaneously." Dr. David Allison, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. VII.

IN any important addition to its population that the province of Nova Scotia at large has at any time received, the permanent capital of the province, Halifax, has naturally sooner or later come to have a considerable share. The two strains that by all means predominate in the present population of Nova Scotia are the New England and the Scotch, the latter of which is the product of a series of migrations direct from Scotland that began in 1772 and ended somewhere about 1815. Of the close political relations between New England and Nova Scotia from the time of the capture of Port Royal (Annapolis Royal) by New England troops in 1710 to the war of the Revolution, far too little has hitherto been written. Nor is it generally recognized, even in Nova Scotia itself, much less in New England, how largely the province of Nova Scotia, and the adjoining province of New Brunswick, which until 1783 was part of Nova Scotia, were in the eighteenth century settled by New England people, and how closely allied by ties of blood a great part of the native Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers today are to many of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island families whose names are identified with the history of

the progress, politically, religiously, socially, of these various New England States.

The most widely known of the migrations from New England to the Maritime Provinces is of course the Loyalist migration of 1775-1783, but the most permanently influential migration, and the one now most effective in the general progress of at least Nova Scotia, was not the Loyalist migration, important in point of numbers and in some quarters of political and social influence as that was, but the migration, comparatively little known to United States historians, of New England families of the best stock from the three states we have mentioned chiefly in the years 1760 and 1761. Of the importance of this migration, Dr. David Allison, who has written much on Nova Scotia history, says: "The settlement during the years 1759-61 of a large part of Nova Scotia, and that as a rule the most fertile part, by groups of colonists from New England, is one of the most important events in the history of our Province. Until recently this event has unquestionably not received the attention due to its importance. As a movement of population from west to east it was a reversal of the usual order, and has quite generally been confounded with the Loyalist migration to the Provinces, which it preceded by nearly a quarter of a century, and which in influence on the political and industrial development of what is now Nova Scotia it undoubtedly surpassed. . . . As a rule this element has been the most tenacious of all our English speaking stocks."[1]

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1. See Dr. Allison's article in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 7, p. 63.

In a pleasantly written article entitled "The Military Traditions of Canada," by A. G. Bradley, printed in the *Cornhill Magazine* for December, 1915, occurs the following entirely inaccurate statement: "The Maritime Provinces were virtually annexed *en bloc* by the United Empire Loyalists, as the exiles proudly called themselves. The small groups of Acadians on the west and British, etc., around Halifax on the east were numerically and yet more, morally, overwhelmed by the influx and count for little in the ethnology of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The United Empire Loyalist element, though their early sufferings in the woods were great, once these were overcome, enjoyed a comparatively unclouded future. In every sense they dominated the province. There was no geographical contact or semi-partnership with French Canadians, no serious influx of doubtful American emigrants such as kept the loyalists of Upper Canada in a constant state of uneasiness, and their hands metaphorically always on their sword hilts. . . . It may safely be affirmed today that at least every second 'Blue Nose' is directly descended from those brave, unfortunate people, whose devotion to the Empire forced them to start life afresh in the wild woods of the then dreaded and

Elements of considerable importance in the present Nova Scotia population, apart from the New England and the Scottish, are the Scotch-Irish, a strain which was introduced either from Londonderry and other neighboring towns of New Hampshire in 1760, or directly from the North of Ireland in 1761 and 1762; the German and French elements, which as we have seen in our chapter on the founding of Halifax were introduced in 1749 and 1750; the Celtic Irish element which has filtered into the province as it has into all American colonies in sporadic migrations during many years, and has had especial influence in Halifax; and the Acadian French, a strain which antedates all the others, but which since the expulsion of all of the people of this blood that could be found in 1755, has had like the German comparatively little influence in the development of the province at large in any way.

Migration for settlement in Nova Scotia of New England people actually began at the capture of Annapolis Royal in 1710, and of this slight movement, which is interesting but which was too limited in extent and for the most part too transitory to be considered more than an incident, we shall give some account when we come to treat of the earlier capital of the province, the ancient town of Annapolis Royal. But the year 1749 brought a very large New England element to the town of Halifax, and the people who came to Nova Scotia at this time were almost without exception Bostonians. How largely Halifax business and social affairs for many years after the Revolution were controlled by Loyalists from not only New England but New York,

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unknown North." Whatever truth there may be in this statement as made of New Brunswick, it is far wide of the truth in its reference to the Province of Nova Scotia. It is quite true that between 30,000 and 35,000 Loyalists, as is estimated, came into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick between 1775 and 1783, by far the larger portion of them sailing from New York in the latter year, but there were very few counties of Nova Scotia as it is today that received permanently any considerable number of them. Where they finally went is a fair question, the Province of New Brunswick got as permanent settlers a large share of them, but it seems almost certain that many of them in longer or shorter time returned to the United States. In his article on the Shelburne Loyalists, in the sixth volume of the *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Dr. T. Watson Smith says: "Numbers of these exiles found their way to Britain, the West Indies, and the Canadas . . . Few records of their wanderings and sufferings have been preserved." It is rather surprising how comparatively few well known Nova Scotians today are of Loyalist stock. The Nova Scotians who rise to conspicuous positions in this age, like the present Premier of Canada, are much more frequently descendants of the New Englanders who came in 1760 or '61.

New Jersey, and other colonies from which Tories had fled, is a matter of current knowledge, but the predominating influence until a late period of the Bostonians who came in shoals at the town's beginning is a fact that is comparatively little in the minds of people today. The truth is, that from 1749 to the middle of the nineteenth century the blood that coursed through the veins of Halifax was largely New England, and of that chiefly Boston, blood.

Of United States historians who have dealt with the expansion of New England's population, not one, we believe, has shown more than the most superficial knowledge of any movement whatever of population, except the Loyalist movement, from the other colonies to Nova Scotia at any time.[2] The great fortress of Louisburg, as we know, was captured by New England troops, and after the capture a considerable number of people either in military or in civil occupations remained at the place. In 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the fortress was given back to France, and this extraordinary diplomatic arrangement compelled the speedy withdrawal of the English garrison and naturally of the civilian office holders and traders who had for three years found it convenient to live there. As we have already shown, Colonel Cornwallis had been but a few weeks at his post on Chebucto Bay when he wrote the Lords of Trade who directed the enterprise in pursuance of which he had come that a group of civilians from Louisburg had arrived to settle in the new town. Other settlers also, he said, had come direct from New England, and in the course of the summer and autumn he expected that over a thousand more would come. The interest felt in Boston in the Cornwallis enterprise is strongly indicated by references to it in the Boston press of the time. In

2. Probably the fullest consecutive treatment of the "expansion" of New England's population is that of Lois Kimball Matthews in her "The Expansion of New England, etc., 1620—1865." (Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1909, pp. 303). The extent of this writer's knowledge of the several migrations to Nova Scotia that we shall in this chapter detail is shown by the following note to page 118 of her book. Miss Matthews says: "There is no room in this study for the investigation of the New England migrations to Canada following the French and Indian War. Fishermen from Cape Cod and Nantucket took advantage of the proclamation of the Governor of Nova Scotia in 1756 [sic], and as early as 1757 the movement to Cape Sable began. In 1761-62 a number of families founded Barrington. See the *Doane Family*, 75, 76." Later in this chapter we shall show the importance of the migration of 1760 and '61.,

the *Boston Weekly News Letter* of June 7, 1750, appears the following dispatch from Europe:

"Franckfort, March 25

"Printed advertisements have been stuck up and dispersed in this city, inviting all, who, with permission of their sovereigns, intend to settle in *Nova Scotia*, to apply as soon as possible to a commissary, who is arrived here from Rotterdam to treat with them for their passage."

Underneath this dispatch are printed the following stanzas from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1750, the reader being referred by this magazine to the *Weekly Entertainer* for the whole poem to which they belong:

NOVA SCOTIA. A NEW BALLAD

To the Tune of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury

Let's away to *New Scotland,* where Plenty sits queen
O'er as happy a country as ever was seen;
And blesses her subjects, both little and great,
With each a good house and a pretty estate.
Derry Down, etc.

There's wood, and there's water, there's wild fowl and tame;
In the forest good ven'son, good fish in the stream.
Good grass for our cattle, good land for our plough,
Good wheat to be reap'd, and good barley to mow.
Derry Down, etc.

No landlords are there the poor tenants to teaze,
No lawyers to bully, nor stewards to seize:
But each honest fellow's a landlord, and dares
To spend on himself the whole fruit of his cares.
Derry Down, etc.

They've no duties on candles, no taxes on malt,
Nor do they, as we do, pay sauce for their salt:
But all is as free as in those times of old,
When poets assure us the age was of gold.
Derry down, etc.[3]

3. For an important notice of the settlement of Halifax, see the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1749. On page 441 of the volume containing this number of the magazine a plan of the town is found.

In the third year after Halifax was founded, the year 1752, a census of the town was taken and the population probably accurately ascertained.[4] In this census the names of families residing in the various sections of the town, and the outlying districts, are scrupulously given, and almost everywhere we find New Englanders in considerable force. The population is stated as numbering 906 families, or, with unmarried men, 4,249 souls, and while only a critical comparison of the names with those that appear in the long lists of people who came from England with Cornwallis could make us sure of the exact strength of the New England contingent in the town at this date, we see at a glance that a large proportion of the names there are New England names.

In the "North Suburbs," for example, we find such familiar names as Caverly, Cox, Bowden, Brewer, Dwight, Gerrish, Gilman, Harris, Hoar, Ives, Proctor, Rundell, Storer, and Tongue. In the "South Suburbs" we find Brooks, Chapman, Child, Clarke, Cleveland, Ferguson, Gerrish, Greenfield, Hammond, Hardin, Harris, Hurd, Ives, Jackson, Kent, Lamb, Marshall, Mason, Monk, Pierce, Pierpont, Poor, Porter, Rigby, Rogers, Salter, Shatford, Steele, Taylor, Trefoy, and Wallace. Within the Town "we find Cotton, Gerrish, Greenwood, Potter, Saul, and Steele. "Within the Pickets" we find Blackden, Codman, Fairbanks, Fillis, Fogg, Foye, Green, Lee, Little, Morris, Rous, and Scott.[4½] In a census of the province made a little less than

4. "A list of the Families of English, Swiss, etc., which have been settled in Nova Scotia since the year 1749, and who now are settlers in places hereafter mentioned." (Halifax, July, 1752). *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 1, pp. 650-670. In this census no account of the people's origins is given, but there must have been in the town somewhere between one and two hundred New England families. Of the departure of these people from Boston we have not found any record in New England Archives. They were not as a rule among the most important people of Boston, though some like William Foye were members of families of the first standing, but they were industrious and energetic, and a number of them rose to great influence in Halifax. They left Boston, it is probable, as single families or in small groups. Besides those who had come before the census of 1752 was taken there were no doubt some who came at later dates. The lists of settlers who came from England with Cornwallis in 1749 are given in the *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 1, pp. 506-557.

4½. The German emigrants, 1,450 of whom in May, 1753, were removed by the Governor's orders to Lunenburg were almost exclusively settled in the North Suburbs. A few straggling families or persons engaged in fishing lived on the islands in the harbour, and a few more were settled at "the Block House and the Isthmus."

fifteen years later, however, under the direction of the lieutenant-governor, Michael Francklin, where the population of Halifax is given as only 3,022 (a little over twelve hundred less than fifteen years before), we find 1,351 persons given as Americans, while but 302 are ranked as of English origin.[5]

Writing of the Halifax population at this early period, Dr. Thomas B. Akins says: "After the evacuation of Louisburg the population received a considerable accession; a number of the English inhabitants came with Governor Hopson, and many from New England were daily arriving, and upwards of a thousand more from the old provinces had expressed themselves [as] desirous of joining the Settlement before winter. The Governor therefore gave orders to all vessels in the Government service to give them a free passage. The New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population, and are the ancestors of many of the present inhabitants. They were better settlers than the old discharged soldiers and sailors who came on the fleet; most of whom died or left the country during the first three or four years, leaving, however, the most industrious and

5. It has been stated in print that in this census of Lieut. Governor Francklin's, which bears date January 1, 1767, and is of the whole of Nova Scotia, including what is now New Brunswick, as well as the islands of Cape Breton and St. John (P. E. I.), all people born in America, whatever the origin of their parents may have been, are ranked as "Americans." To what extent this is true we cannot tell, the part of the population of Halifax that numbers most largely next to "Americans" is "Irish," and these people we suppose are chiefly Scotch-Irish who came with Alexander McNutt in October, 1761 and November, 1762, from the North of Ireland direct. Whether any of their children or the children of the first settlers from England are ranked as Americans in this census we do not know, but it is quite certain that in Truro, where the *whole population* (301) is given as "Irish," a great many of the people had been born in New Hampshire, while some had been born in Truro after the New Hampshire Scotch-Irish emigrants came there. The Halifax population in 1767 is distributed according to origin as follows: 1,351 Americans, 853 Irish, 302 English, 264 Germans and other foreigners, 200 Acadian French, and 52 Scotch. The whole population of Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton and St. John islands, is given in this census as 13,374. Of these people, 6,913 are given as *Americans*, 2,165 as *Irish*, and only 912 as *English*. For the Scotch-Irish immigrations to Nova Scotia in 1761 and 1762, see the writer's monographs on the "Settlement of Colchester County," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, Vol. 6, section 2 (1912); and "Alexander McNutt the Colonizer," in *Americana* for December, 1913.

"In 1752," says Professor Walter C. Murray, LL.D. (*History of St. Mathews Church, Halifax*, in *Coll. of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 16, p. 166. 1912), "there were 4,249 persons in Halifax, of which Mr. Breynton [Rector of St. Paul's] estimates one half as members of the Church of England. In 1755, the number of inhabitants had fallen to one half. The census of 1767 gave Halifax 3,022 persons, of whom 667 were Roman Catholics. In 1769 the number was much reduced, and in 1791 the population of the town was 4,897. The exodus during Revolutionary times made serious inroads on the Dissenting Congregation."

respectable among them as permanent settlers.'"[6] Of the two elements in the population, Dr. David Allison writes in the same vein: "While Cornwallis's transports brought over a limited number of persons of means, energy, and character, the great bulk of their passengers were just such people as a rosy-colored advertisement in the *London Gazette* would be likely to attract in a time of great business dulness. They were in no proper sense of the term settlers. As 'birds of passage' they did not purpose to continue long in one place. A large proportion were men without families. Over five hundred had been man-of-war sailors. They were in great part the very kind of persons to whom the novelty of such an enterprise would be attractive and its practical hardships distasteful. So long as rations were the order of the day they remained. When these were suspended and men were expected to work for a living, the place knew most of them no more." But of the small group of "influential" New England families that accompanied or closely followed the departing troops from Louisburg and the much larger group that soon after came from Boston, he says, the persons who composed this element of the population in a short time "drew into their hands a large part of the business of the place, and filled many of the most important positions in the Colony."[7]

To these testimonies of older writers to the strength of the New England element in the early Halifax population, Professor Walter C. Murray adds his voice. Akins, he writes, says that " 'the New England people soon formed the basis of the resident population,' and Tutty in 1750 nearly doubles his estimate of the population given the preceding year. The increase is due to the influx of New Englanders. . . . It is perhaps unnecessary to say but little more in support of the opinion that

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6. Dr. Thomas Beamish Akins's "Prize Essay on the History of the Settlement of Halifax," enlarged and published as the "History of Halifax City," in the 8th volume of the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society" (1895), p. 16. Dr. Akins says further that many of the adventurers who came with Cornwallis "caused him and his successors much trouble and annoyance, in demoralizing the people by the illicit sale of bad liquors, and in other ways."

7. "The Settlement of the Early Townships, Illustrated by an Old Census," by David Allison, LL.D., in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 7 (1889-1891), pp. 45-71. See chiefly pp. 59, 60.

the main current of life in Halifax in the early days was New England in origin."

Of the English settlers with Cornwallis in 1749, a few from the start held prominent places in the official or social life of the town, but these for the most part were persons who were in close touch with the Governor, some of them indeed having come out as members of his suite. Such men, as we can see by following the subsequent history of the town, were Richard Bulkeley, John Collier, John Creighton, John Duport, Archibald Hinchelwood, William Nesbitt, and Lewis Piers.[8] Of New England men on the other hand, we find many who on account of business energy or military prestige or breeding and education almost immediately came to rank as among the first citizens of the town. Among these New Englanders of high standing may be mentioned Jonathan Binney, Samuel Blackden or Blagdon, Judge James Brenton (from Newport, Rhode Island), Rev. Aaron Cleveland and his brothers, Josiah and Samuel, Preserved Cunnabell, Joseph Fairbanks, John Fillis, William Foye (a Harvard graduate, son of the Receiver General of Massachusetts who immediately preceded Harrison Gray), the brothers, Joseph and Benjamin Gerrish, both members of the Council, John and Joseph Gorham, Joseph Gray, Hon. Benjamin Green, Edward How, Jacob Hurd, William Lawlor, William Lawson, Otis Little, James Monk, Hon. Charles Morris, Hon. Henry Newton (whose father, however, had long lived at Annapolis Royal), Jonathan Prescott, John Rous, Malachy Salter, and Robert Sanderson.

If distinct proof were needed of the preponderating influence

8. Brief sketches of some of these men, as well as of the English settlers who occupied prominent places in early Halifax, will be found given in valuable notes by Dr. Akins in the first volume of *Nova Scotia Archives*, which he edited. Of Englishmen, Dr. Akins discusses, for example, Captain Edward Amhurst, Richard Bulkeley (whose escutcheon hangs in St. Paul's Church, Halifax), John Collier, Captain William Cotterell (the first provost marshal of Halifax), John Creighton, Hugh Davidson, John Duport, Archibald Hinchelwood, William Nesbitt, and John Salusbury. Richard Bulkeley came out as aide-de-camp to Governor Cornwallis, and from about 1759 to 1793 filled the office of Secretary of the Province. John Collier, a retired army officer, became one of the earliest justices of the peace, a captain in the militia, and finally a member of the Council. Still other men of this English migration were William Best, John Burbidge, and John Pyke. Thomas Cochran, who became a member of Council, came from the North of Ireland with McNutt, the Tobins and Kennys were Roman Catholic Irishmen, who came later from Ireland.

of New England men in the early life of Halifax we should find it sufficiently in the constitution of the first Representative Assembly of Nova Scotia, which was brought into being largely through the determined efforts of Chief Justice Belcher. In this first Assembly there were nineteen members elected by the people, six of whom technically ranked as *esquires*, thirteen as *gentlemen*. Of the six *esquires* we find five to have been New England men,—Joseph Gerrish, Robert Sanderson (who was chosen Speaker), Henry Newton, William Foye, and Joseph Rundell. Of the thirteen ranked as *gentlemen*, we find at least six to have been from New England,—Jonathan Binney, Robert Campbell, William Pantree, Joseph Fairbanks, Philip Hammond, and John Fillis. Of the remaining eight members, six seem to have been Englishmen, and two Germans from among the Continental settlers who were temporarily or permanently settled in the North Suburbs of the town. In the second assembly, which met for the first time in December, 1759, we find of New England men, Henry Newton, Jonathan Binney, Malachy Salter, Benjamin Gerrish, Capt. Charles Proctor, Col. Jonathan Hoar, John Newton, Capt. Simon Slocomb, Col. Joseph Fry, and John Huston.[9]

Before passing on to the second large migration to Nova Scotia from the earlier settled American colonies to the west and south, we may properly say a little more about some of these New England men and their families who largely controlled the early destinies of Halifax.

Jonathan Binney, originally of Hull, Massachusetts, before coming to Halifax had been a merchant and ship-owner in Bos-

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9. Professor Murray ("History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax") goes on to say: "The Governor in 1758 unconsciously paid a tribute to the power of the New England element when he says that 'too many members of the Assembly are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's Government here, or indeed that have the most natural attachment to this Province.' Lt. Col. Morse in 1783 estimated the number of old inhabitants (exclusive of disbanded soldiers and Loyalists) to be about 14,000 out of a total of 40,000, and he added 'it may not be improper to observe that a great part of the old inhabitants, especially the wealthy ones, are from New England, and that they discovered during the late war the same sentiments which prevailed in that country. I think it necessary to add that the Legislature is principally composed of these men and that some of the higher public offices are at present filled with the most notorious of these characters." (*Coll. of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 16, pp. 148, 149.

HON. JOHATHAN BELCHER,

First Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. Born in Boston in 1710. Died in Halifax in 1776. Portrait by John Singleton Copley. Photograph loaned by Hon. Sir Charles Townshend, Kt.

ton, where his first wife, Martha Hall, had died. An uncle of his, Dr. Joseph Binney, had been a surgeon at the capture of Louisburg, and in the siege or not long after had died at that place. The nephew had not, so far as we know, served in the siege, but it is possible that his uncle's service and death at Cape Breton had aroused his interest in this eastern province. At any rate, in 1753 he left Boston and came to Halifax, and here he married secondly, in 1759, Hannah Adams Newton, daughter of Hibbert Newton, and sister of Henry Newton, and so founded the Halifax Binney family, from which came the fourth Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, and other locally important men.

Aaron Cleveland was the first Congregational minister of Nova Scotia, and he and William Foye, both of the class of 1735, and Otis Little, were the first Harvard graduates to settle in Halifax. The presence of so many Bostonians in the town at the start drew a Congregational church together almost as soon as an Anglican parish, and of this church Aaron Cleveland, who had come with his brothers Josiah and Samuel in 1749, became the first minister. Cleveland was "a man of distinction and a scholar," he staid in Halifax only three years, then he went to England and took orders in the Anglican Church. "On his way out the vessel sprang a leak. His heroic endeavors to help save the leaking ship injured his health. After a short time in mission charges he died at the house of his friend Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia."[10] The Rev. Mr. Cleveland's brother, Captain Samuel Cleveland, met a violent death at the hands of Indians in May, 1753.

Lieutenant Joseph Fairbanks saw service at the first siege of Louisburg, and in 1752 we find him settled in Halifax with a family (and servants) consisting of ten persons. He was born in Sherborn, Massachusetts, September seventeenth, 1718, and his second wife was Lydia Blackden, sister of the second wife of

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10. "The History of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax," by Professor Walter C. Murray, M. A., LL.D., in *Coll. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 168, 169. For a very valuable sketch of Rev. Aaron Cleveland, in which the facts of his brother Samuel's death are also given, see the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1888. The sketch is by Benjamin Rand, M. A., Ph.D., of Harvard University. It is published also as a reprint. Rev. Aaron Cleveland was great-grandfather of the late Hon. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States.

Dr. Jonathan Prescott, surgeon and captain of Engineers at Louisburg, who founded the Prescott family, so distinguished in Halifax County and in King's.

Joseph Fairbanks left no children by either of his wives. The well-known and much respected Fairbanks family of Halifax was founded here by Rufus Fairbanks, his nephew, who was born at Killingly, Connecticut (where his father was a Congregational clergyman), October twentieth, 1759, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1784. Rufus Fairbanks married November seventeenth, 1785, Ann Prescott, daughter of Dr. Jonathan Prescott, and inheriting his uncle Joseph's property was one of early Halifax's comparatively wealthy men. His son, Hon. Charles Rufus Fairbanks, one of the ablest lawyers Nova Scotia has produced, in 1832 was appointed Solicitor General, and in 1834 Judge of Vice Admiralty and Master of the Rolls.

John Fillis had been in some kind of mercantile business in Boston, where he was born, and at the founding of Halifax he also with his family removed to Nova Scotia. In the new maritime-provincial town he became a highly prosperous merchant and ship-owner, and among the Congregational families of Halifax at least his family occupied a foremost place. He married first, in Boston in 1747, Elizabeth Stoddard, second, in Halifax, not long after his settlement there, another Boston woman, Sarah, widow of Samuel Cleveland, whose first husband was one of the earliest emigrants from Boston to die. For many years John Fillis with his son John was engaged in a general mercantile business in Halifax, and he owned a wharf and no doubt vessels in which he traded with Boston. It would seem that for some years until the Revolution he may have had a branch business or agency in Boston, for his son, who married Louisa, daughter of Byfield Lyde, was stationed in Boston when the Revolution began. In 1775 some hay belonging to Mr. Joseph Fairbanks that was intended for the British troops in Boston was burned before it could be shipped, and Messrs. John Fillis, Sr., and another New Englander, Mr. William Smith, were popularly accused of having been the secret agents in its destruction. On the sixteenth of June of this year Fillis and Smith made formal complaint to the Assembly that they had

been maligned in the accusations, and being unable to detect their "vile traducers," begged relief from the House. In a formal resolve of the Assembly both men were completely exonerated of the charge, the government declaring that it believed the accused persons to be "dutiful and loyal subjects of His Majesty King George."[11] Fillis died in Halifax on the sixteenth of July, 1792.

William Foye was a son of William Foye, Esq., who was Treasurer and Receiver General of the province of Massachusetts Bay from 1736 to 1759, and grandson of Joseph Foye, mariner. His mother was Elizabeth Campbell and he had two sisters, one of whom, Mary, was married as his second wife to Rev. William Cooper of Boston. William Foye was born November 1, 1716, graduated at Harvard College in 1735, and came to Halifax in 1749. Almost immediately after coming there he was appointed by Colonel Cornwallis provost marshal or sheriff of the province. Of his family, if he had any, we at present know nothing. He died at Halifax in 1771, for in the *Boston Evening Post* of September 23, 1771, we find:

"Died at Halifax, William Foye, Esq., aged 55, son of the late Treasurer. He was Provost Marshal of that Province 22 years and Lieutenant Colonel of the City of Halifax."[12] By his father's will, which was made in Milton, Massachusetts, March 17, 1759, and proved April 10, of the same year, he inherited valuable properties in Boston. As we have said, William Foye and Aaron Cleveland, both of the class of 1735, and Otis Little of the class of 1731, were the earliest Harvard graduates to settle in Nova Scotia.

Joseph Gerrish—Among pre-Revolutionary families in and about Boston, as further east in the colonies of New Hampshire and Maine, few families were better known or socially more influential than the Gerrish family, who were intermarried with the Sewalls, Waldrons, and Greens. An important member of

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11. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 539; and the *Nova Scotia Gazette* of June 20, 1775.

12. See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vol. 19, pp. 207, 8. The elder William Foye's estate seems to have been very large and he must have been known as an extremely rich man. He left a house in Mackerel Lane, Boston, a house in Hanover Street, Boston, where he had lately lived, and a "mansion house" in Milton. He left also several slaves.

the family was Captain John Gerrish, of Boston, one of the owners of Long Wharf, a merchant of note, and a captain in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery. With a large number of daughters he had two sons, the elder of whom, Joseph, after his father's death, seems to have closed the Boston business, in which he had a share, and when the call for volunteers for Louisburg came, joined the Third Massachusetts Regiment and went to Cape Breton. After the capture he remained in military service in Nova Scotia, and in the winter of 1746-7 was in command at Minas, where he received a severe wound. Before 1759 he was appointed Naval Storekeeper at Halifax, with a salary of a hundred pounds a year, and on August sixteenth, 1758, was made a member of the Council, in which position he remained till his death.

Benjamin Gerrish, younger brother of Joseph, also settled in Halifax, sometime before 1752. He married in Boston in April, 1744, Rebecca Dudley, a daughter of the Hon. William Dudley, granddaughter of Governor Joseph Dudley, and great granddaughter of Governor Thomas Dudley; and in Halifax founded the important shipping firm of "Gerrish and Gray." Benjamin Gerrish, like his brother Joseph, was admitted to the Council and was a member of that body when he died. His death occurred at Southampton, England, May sixth, 1772, and after he died his widow was married to John Burbidge, Esq., of Cornwallis, another member of the First Assembly, who had come out with Governor Cornwallis, from the Isle of Wight.

Colonel John Gorham, eldest son of Colonel Shubael Gorham of Barnstable, Massachusetts, was born at Barnstable December twelfth, 1709, and married March ninth, 1732, Elizabeth Allyn, daughter of James and Susannah (Lewis) Allyn. He lived at Barnstable until 1742, when he entered on military service. In 1744 we find him in command of a company of militia troops at Annapolis Royal, and the next year, in Boston, raising a company for the expedition against Louisburg. His father was colonel of the Seventh Massachusetts regiment, and as captain of the Second Company of that regiment he took part in the Louisburg siege. Shortly after the siege he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and on the death of his father was made

full colonel of the Seventh. When Louisburg was taken he returned to Annapolis Royal in chief command of the troops stationed there. When civil government for Nova Scotia was established, Governor Cornwallis gave him a place on his new Council, but he must have died late in 1751 or early in 1752. His widow soon after married Captain John Stevens and removed to Gloucester, Massachusetts.[13]

MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH GORHAM, brother of Colonel John, was born at Barnstable, May twenty-ninth, 1725, and was probably a lieutenant at Louisburg. In 1749 he was lieutenant in the "Rangers" sent from New England to Nova Scotia, and this position he still held in 1758 and 1759. In 1761 the Rangers were established as regular troops, and in 1770, as an officer of the British army he was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Placentia in Newfoundland in place of Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton. In 1766 he also was admitted to the Nova Scotia Council, and on the twenty-eight of April, 1790, was made major-general in the army. He married at Halifax December thirtieth, 1764, Anne Spry, sister of William Spry, judge of the newly established Court of Admirality at Halifax, an Englishman, who with his two sisters had come to Halifax about three months before. At the time of his marriage he owned a house in Halifax and a place which he called "Gorham Hall," near the town of Lunenburg. Both he and his brother received grants of land in the province. His governorship of Placentia did not require his continued residence in Newfoundland and he still lived mostly in Halifax, where in his house on Sundays the Rev. Thomas Wood, curate of St. Paul's Church, frequently instructed the Micmac Indians, in their own tongue. He died at Halifax probably in 1790, or soon after that year. Of his children, Joseph William, born September twenty-fifth, 1765, and Amherst, born in Sep-

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13. In Parsons's "Life of Sir William Pepperrell," (p. 240), we find a letter from Col. John Gorham to Pepperrell, dated Halifax, July 5, 1751, describing the important part Gorham took in the Louisburg siege. The *Boston News-Letter* of June 28, 1750, has an account of a wound Col. Gorham had received at Pisiquid, Nova Scotia, in a skirmish with the French shortly before. Gorham lay for some time in "the first house in Pisiquid," then he was taken by water round the shore to Halifax.

A memoir of Major Joseph Gorham will be found in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 2, (1879-1880), pp. 26, 27. He sailed from New York, June 30, 1762, for the capture of Havana.

tember, 1766, were in the British army. He had also a daughter, Charlotte Spry, who was married twice.

Benjamin Green—One of the first members of the Council appointed by Governor Cornwallis was Benjamin Green, a son of the Rev. Joseph Green, minister of the Congregational Church at Salem Village, now Danvers, Massachusetts. Before 1745, Mr. Green was for some years in business in Boston, but when the expedition against Louisburg was organized he was given the position of secretary with military rank to Sir William Pepperrell. After the capture of Louisburg he remained at the place in some public position or other until 1749, when like so many other New Englanders there he removed to Halifax. In 1757 he was appointed military secretary to the commander-in-chief of the forces, Governor Charles Lawrence, and also colonel in the militia. His wife was Margaret Pierce of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and she bore him seven children, two or three of whom intermarried with the family of Hon. Henry Newton. Hon Benjamin Green was a second cousin of Hon. Joseph and Hon. Benjamin Gerrish, both like him, as we have seen, members of the Nova Scotia Council.

Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Hoar was a son of Lieutenant Daniel and Sarah (Jones) Hoar, and was born at Concord, Massachusetts, where his family always lived, January 6, 1707. He is recorded as having graduated at Harvard in 1740, although thirty-three years is a very unusual age for men to reach before leaving college. We are puzzled likewise with other facts in his record. In 1755 he went as a major to Fort Edward (Windsor), Nova Scotia, probably in connexion with the expulsion of the Acadians. It may be also that a little earlier he assisted in the capture of Fort Beauséjour. The next year (as lieutenant-colonel) he went with Major General Winslow to Crown Point, and in 1758 he was at the second capture of Louisburg. In 1759, having received a grant of land at Annapolis, he was elected to the legislature for that township, his election from this constituency being repeated in 1765. In the Massachusetts Archives we find records of military service performed by him in 1762 and 1763, his residence then being given as Concord, Massachusetts. But in 1762,

MRS. JONATHAN BELCHER

Born in Boston in 1727. Died in Halifax, October 9, 1771. From a painting by Copley. Reproduecd from a photograph loaned by the Nova Scotia Historical Society

the History of Annapolis tells us, he was a judge there of the court of common pleas, and active in organizing the militia. In 1767, also, the same History says, he was appointed judge of probate at Annapolis. In 1771, we learn from Bond's History of Watertown, where many other facts concerning him are given, he was in England, whence, having been appointed "governor of Newfoundland," he sailed for that island. On the way thither, this record says, he died. The estate he owned at Annapolis was sold in 1782.[14]

Jacob Hurd, member of a useful and more or less influential family in Boston, received a water lot in Halifax on the twentieth of July, 1752. For many years he was a prosperous member of the Halifax trading community and a little street there known as Hurd's Lane commemorates his name. He married in Boston on the twentieth of May, 1725, Elizabeth Mason, and on the register of the New South Church the baptisms of no less than fourteen children born to him and his wife in Boston are to be found. How many of these lived and how many accompanied him to Halifax we do not know. His son Nathaniel, however, a well known engraver, whose portrait was painted by Copley, spent his life and died in his and his parents' native town.[15]

Thomas Lawlor and his wife, Susanna, who were connected with the New Brick Church in Boston, do not seem to have been especially noted in the Boston community, but their descendants, if not themselves, came to have considerable prominence in Halifax, where they removed, although it would seem not earlier than 1757. In Boston they had five children baptized, the second of whom, William, became an important officer of the Halifax mi-

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14. Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton, governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, died in Ireland, February 26, 1770, and very soon after Major Joseph Gorham, of whom we have given a brief sketch, was appointed his successor. It is probable that Lt.-Col. Jonathan Hoar was appointed immediately after Lt.-Col. Hamilton's death, and that as the record says, he died before assuming the duties of the office. See Bond's "Genealogies and History of Watertown," p. 298; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register,* Vol. 53, p. 197; and "History of Annapolis," pp. 323-326.

15. Nathaniel Hurd, born in 1730, died in Boston in 1777. He was one of the earliest important engravers in America, and he also painted a few minatures on copper. "He engraved the seal of Harvard College, and the seals for most of the thirteen original colonies." His portrait by Copley, which went to Halifax after his death and remained there for about a hundred years, was probably painted about 1770. At the present time it is owned in the United States.

litia. Their elder daughter, Susanna, became in Halifax, first the wife of William Read or Reid, then third wife of the eminent Loyalist Angelican clergyman, the younger Dr. Mather Byles. A grandson of William Lawlor was the famous Haligonian, Admiral Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, who when he was only twenty-two years old took command of the British frigate *Shannon* after her victory over the *Chesapeake*, and brought both vessels into Halifax harbour, in 1813.[16] Admiral Wallis who lived a little more than a full century was for many years known in British circles as "Father of the Fleet. He died in England in February, 1892.

William Lawson, son of John and Sarah Lawson of Boston, born March 27, 1720, with his wife Elizabeth, whom he married in 1743, and several children, came to Halifax in or soon after 1749. The family he founded in Halifax, during the whole of the nineteenth century enjoyed much social prominence. There were of course continual intermarriages among these Halifax families of Boston origin.

Otis Little, of Marshfield, Massachusetts, born January 29, 1711, was graduated at Harvard in 1731, and then studied law. We find no record in the Massachusetts Archives of military service performed by him, but Dr. Akins says he was "Captain of one of the Independent Companies raised in New England for Colonial service." In 1748 in London and in 1749 in Boston he published an octavo pamphlet entitled "The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies considered; with an Account of their Produce, and a particular description of Nova Scotia," extracts from which are given in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* volume 9, pages 105, 106. When the Cornwallis enterprise was set on foot he was in England, and joining it he came out in the *Channing* frigate, and in the new town acted for a little while as "commissary of stores." From this office Cornwallis removed him, but in 1753 we find him "the King's attorney" or attorney-general of the province. He died, we believe some time before 1758. Of his family we know nothing except

16. Admiral Wallis's mother was Elizabeth Lawlor and his father Provo Featherstone Wallis of the Halifax Dockyard. His grandfather, William Lawlor, was major of the First Battalion of the Halifax Regiment. For Admiral Wallis see the Dictionary of National Biography.

that he had, as it is reported, a daughter who died, we suppose in Halifax, unmarried. Mr. Little, Rev. Aaron Cleveland, and William Foye, were the first Harvard graduates to reside in Halifax.

James Monk—Before coming to Halifax, James Monk seems to have been a merchant in Boston, where he had lived for some years, but before long in Halifax he seems to have practised and had good standing as a lawyer.[17] In 1752 he was named as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1760 "King's Solicitor." His wife was Ann Deering, a sister of Mrs. Samuel Wentworth (mother of Lady Frances Wentworth) and Mrs. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, and of his children, born in Boston, and most of them, at least, baptized at King's Chapel, James was appointed Solicitor General at Halifax in 1774, and George Henry in 1801 was raised to the Nova Scotia Supreme Bench. In 1777, probably, James Monk, Jr., went to the province of Quebec, and in that part of what is now the Dominion of Canada in time became Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. After he retired from the Bench he was knighted. He died in England in 1826. Judge George Henry Monk was long a resident of Windsor, Nova Scotia, where his relatives the Nathaniel Ray Thomases lived. Late in his life he went to Montreal, and in that city died in 1823.[18]

Charles Morris—No man in the early history of Halifax save the governors filled higher positions, or had a more active career, than Charles Morris, who was born in Boston in 1711. Morris was captain of one of the six companies sent by Governor Shirley to Annapolis Royal to protect that place against recapture by the French in October, 1746. The following December he was sent to Minas, in King's County, to guard the settlement there during the winter, and the next month he helped repel the attack made by French and Indians on the place, in which Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble and his brother Francis, from Maine, lost

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17. Whether James Monk was nearly related to George Monk, of Boston, a well known resident and inn keeper there for many years we have not been able to make out.

18. Judge George Henry Monk's descendants were for many years in the 19th century very conspicuous in political life in the Province of Quebec. Sir James Monk died childless.

their lives. When Halifax was founded, Morris, who had been trained as a surveyor, was employed by Governor Cornwallis as one of two men to plan and lay out the town. After this he became Surveyor General for the province, was made a judge of the Superior Court of Common Pleas, although he was not a lawyer rose to a judgeship of the Supreme Court, became a member of the Council, and after Chief Justice Belcher died, for two years acted as Chief Justice. His wife was a daughter of Attorney General John Read of Boston, and his eldest son Charles, who also became a member of the Council and a judge of the Supreme Court, was his successor in the Surveyor-Generalship. The office thus filled by two generations of the Morris family became indeed hereditary in the family, it did not pass from Morris hands until two generations more of the family had discharged its functions and enjoyed its emoluments. The Surveyor General in the third generation was Charles Morris, 3d, his successor was his son John Spry Morris.[19]

Henry Newton was one of the three sons of Hibbert Newton, Esq., only son of Judge Thomas Newton of Boston, to whom a tablet was placed on the walls of King's Chapel in 1853. The inscription on the tablet describes Thomas Newton as one of the original founders of King's Chapel parish, a member of its first Vestry in 1699, and a Warden in 1704. "He was many years," it says, "one of the principal lawyers in the Province [of Massachusetts] and filled various places of honour and trust here, and at the time of his death was Attorney-General, Comptroller of the Customs, and had been a Judge of the Admiralty Court. He was a gentleman of exalted virtues, and greatly beloved and respected, both in this country and in England, where he was born and educated." Hibbert Newton, early settled at Annapolis Royal, and there and at Canso served as Collector of Customs long before Governor Cornwallis came. Henry Newton, son of Hibbert, was the first Collector of Customs at Hali-

19. See the writer's sketch of Hon. Charles Morris, 1st, in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1913. This sketch is the first of a series of sketches of "eminent Nova Scotians of New England birth." The second, a sketch of Hibbert Newton, will be found in the Register for January, 1914. The writer has also published in the Register genealogical sketches of the Gerrish, DeBlois, and Byles families.

fax, and this important office he filled honorably for fifty years. On October 24, 1761, during Chief Justice Belcher's administration of the Government, he was appointed to the Council, and in February, 1790, he became President of this body. He died at Halifax, January 29, 1802, aged seventy, and a tablet to his memory was later placed on the walls of St. Paul's Church. His first wife was Charlotte, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Green, and his second, Anne Stuart, only sister of Gilbert Stuart the painter, whose father had settled on his grant at Newport, Hants County, in 1775. After her husband's death Mrs. Newton opened a school for young ladies in Medford, Massachusetts. The Newton family in Halifax were intermarried with the Binneys and Uniackes.

Dr. Jonathan Prescott. The surgeon-general of Massachusetts troops at Louisburg was Dr. Edward Ellis of Boston, an assistant surgeon (and captain of Engineers) was Dr. Jonathan Prescott, who was born at Littleton, Massachusetts, May 24, 1725. Dr. Ellis settled in Hants County, although not until 1760. Dr. Prescott came to Halifax probably in 1749. Receiving important grants of land in Lunenburg County Prescott settled at Chester and conducted a prosperous business there, but he had always a close and intimate connexion with Halifax. He died at Chester January 11, 1802. He married, first, Mary Vassall, a daughter of William Vassall, Esq., of Cambridge and Boston. Mrs. Prescott died in 1757, and he married, secondly, Ann Blackden, born in London, England, March 21, 1742, died in Halifax in February, 1810. The family Dr. Prescott founded in Nova Scotia had much social distinction throughout the province. An important sketch of it will be found in Eaton's *History of Kings County,* pp. 783-785.

Captain John Rous or Rouse may have been born at Marshfield, Massachusetts, but of what Massachusetts town he was a native we are not sure. The chief biographical sketch of him that has yet come into print will be found in John Charnock's "Biographia Navalis" (vol. 5, pp. 412-414). In that sketch he is said to have probably early become a lieutenant in the navy, but the important beginning of his career is placed at the first siege of Louisburg, in 1745. At the siege he so distinguished himself

as to attract the attention of Sir Peter Warren, who commanded the sea force in the attack. Before this attack on the Cape Breton fort he had been master of a Boston privateer, which after the capture became the *Shirley* galley. Of the *Shirley* he now became captain, and this position he retained when the vessel was hired to be a ship of war "on the sloop establishment," and later when she was put on the higher plane of post ship or frigate. In 1749, as captain of the *Albany* and in England, he sailed with the Cornwallis fleet, but in 1755 he commanded another ship, the *Success*. In the last ship he was at Beauséjour, and then at Annapolis Royal, at the expulsion of the Acadians from that place, in 1755. At the second siege of Louisburg, in 1758, he commanded a fourth ship, the *Sutherland*, but he died at Portsmouth (probably England) April 3, 1760. October 1, 1754, he was made a member of the Council at Halifax. Of his family we know nothing except that a daughter of his, Mary Rous, became the first wife of Hon. Richard Bulkeley. Mrs. Bulkeley, who died in June, 1775, bore a son Freke Bulkeley, who succeeded his father as the second secretary of the province.

Malachy Salter, Jr., of Boston, son of Malachy Salter and his wife Sarah Holmes, was born February twenty-eighth, 1714, and married July twenty-sixth, 1744, Susanna Mulberry (both families belonging to the Old South Church). As we have said in a previous chapter he was probably the most conspicuous Boston trader on Nova Scotia shores before Cornwallis came. How early he moved his family to Halifax we do not know, but he and they soon became their important people in the town. Salter was one of the most active and apparently prosperous merchants in early Halifax and he and Robert Sanderson owned at least one vessel together. This was the armed schooner *Lawrence*, which sailed from Halifax November sixteenth, 1756, "on a six months cruise to the southward against the enemy." Salter had a number of children, and his family were always prominent in the Halifax Congregational Church. At one time the various Congregational churches of Nova Scotia received aid from their sister churches in Massachusetts, and the distribution of the money raised for their help was given into Mr. Salter's hands. It is probable that in the early history of Mather's, later St.

Matthew's Church, Salter and Fillis were the two most important men. Salter's house stood at the corner of the present Hollis and Salter streets. It was afterward for a long time occupied by William Lawson, then it passed into the hands of John Esson.

Robert Sanderson—The first Speaker of the Assembly, as we have seen, was Robert Sanderson. Like so many other Bostonians in Halifax he was a general merchant and ship-owner. He was without doubt a grandson of the Robert Sanderson, silversmith, of Boston, a deacon of the First Church, who with John Hull was given charge of the first coinage of shillings, sixpences, and threepences in Massachusetts, in 1652

A Boston woman of the widest social influence in Halifax and Windsor, from the time of her marriage to her death, was *Mrs. Michael Francklin.* The husband of this lady was a highly successful merchant of Halifax, who began life there in 1752. He was a Devonshire man, who came out from England in the ship *Norfolk* late in the year mentioned, having previously, we are told, had some business experience in London, and in the beginning he sold liquor at retail in Halifax. His education and breeding, however, were evidently such as to commend him at once to the people of best culture in the town, and very soon he widened his business and rose to great local prominence. Ten years after he landed in Halifax he married in Boston (February 7, 1762) Susannah Boutineau, a daughter of Mr. James Boutineau, attorney, and his wife Susannah Faneuil, sister of Peter Faneuil, the princely Boston merchant who built Faneuil Hall. In the public affairs of Nova Scotia no citizen of Halifax in the eighteenth century was more active, and in the local government none had a higher place than he. March 28, 1766, he was commissioned lieutenant governor of the province, and this position he held until 1776. The chief home of the Francklins was at Windsor, where they had a fine farm, but they naturally spent much time in Halifax. They reared a large family, who married well, some of them living in Nova Scotia, some abroad. One or two of their sons, notably James Boutineau Francklin, occupied prominent public positions in the province. Both in Windsor and in Halifax Mr. and Mrs. Francklin were staunch supporters of the Anglican Church.

At the time of the Revolution, Mrs. Francklin's parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Boutineau, her aunt, Mary Ann Faneuil, who was then the widow of Edward Jones, and her cousins, Peter and Benjamin Faneuil, were all Loyalists. Mr. and Mrs. Boutineau went, possibly via Halifax, to Bristol, England, where we believe they remained until Mr. Boutineau's death, which occurred some time before February 20, 1784. For a while after the evacuation of Boston, Mrs. Edward Jones resided (we suppose with the Francklin's) in Halifax and Windsor. The rich Peter Faneuil of Boston died intestate in 1743, and no doubt Mrs. Francklin with the rest of his nieces and nephews shared in his large wealth. Mrs. Francklin died at Windsor, April 19, 1816, in her seventy-sixth year. The date of her birth is given in the Boston Town Records as February 22, 1740.[20]

Of the settlement of Dartmouth, on the east side of Halifax harbour, the most important suburb of the capital town, a few words should here be said. A history of Dartmouth, written by Mrs. William Lawson, was published (after the writer's death) in 1893. From this history we learn that the "township" was not settled until 1786-87, when the vacant lands there were granted to a small company of Nantucket whalers, bearing such familiar names as Coleman, Folger, Starbuck, etc., all of them Quakers in religion, and all expecting to make Dartmouth a basis for the industry to which they had been accustomed in their island home. A frugal and industrious people, peace-loving, God-fearing, says Mrs. Lawson, these Nantucket whalers were, but the failure of a large business house in Halifax that had encouraged the whale fishing here gave the Dartmouth settlement

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20. Mrs. Francklin's mother was Mary Bowdoin, of Boston. We find thus introduced into Nova Scotia the blood of two of the notable group of Huguenot families that were so thrifty and rose to such high positions in Boston in the 18th century. Such families were the Boutineaus, Bowdoins, Brimmers, Faneuils, and Johonnots. The founder of the Boston De Blois family was of Huguenot stock, but he came at a later time than the others. His descendants and collateral descendants in the De Blois name came also (at the Revolution), to Halifax. For an interesting letter from James Boutineau to Mrs. Edward Jones at Halifax, in 1778, and from Mrs. James Boutineau to her nephew Edward Jones at Boston, in 1788, and her sister Mrs. Jones at Boston in 1785, see "Sabine's Loyalists," under the name James Boutineau. For Lieutenant Governor Francklin, see a very important sketch by Mr. James S. McDonald in the Nova Scotia Hist. Coll., Vol. 17, pp. 7-40. For the Francklin family, see the writer's article on the settling of Windsor, Nova Scotia, in *Americana* for February, 1915.

its death blow, and in 1792, the greater part of the Nantucketers left the province, never to return. A few, however, remained, for a longer time, one of these being Seth Coleman, a man whom the historian describes as "a model of piety, industry, and general philanthropy."[21]

The second notable migration from the earlier settled American colonies to Nova Scotia occurred between 1759 and 1762, chiefly in 1760 and '61. Early in 1755 the French fort Beauséjour, which stood near the isthmus which connects Nova Scotia with New Brunswick, was captured, as Port Royal had been in 1710 and Louisburg in 1745, by New England troops, and before the end of 1755, in vessels furnished by New England, the expedition having been put in command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow, a Marshfield, Massachuetts, man, the greater number of the Acadian French throughout Nova Scotia were forcibly removed and the unfortunate people set down as paupers in little groups wherever they were allowed to land on the American coast from Maine to Georgia. The complete destruction of French power in the province now being effected, the government was left free to invite British settlers to the unpeopled lands which the French had tilled, and to those parts of the province which had never been settled, and very soon the governor, then Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Lawrence, began to discuss projects for settlement with the Lords of Trade. In the

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21. "History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, Halifax County, Nova Scotia," edited by Harry Piers. This book was published at Halifax by Morton & Company, in 1893. Mrs. Lawson says (pp. 17, 18): "In 1758, a return was made by the Surveyor-General, the first Charles Morris, to Governor Lawrence, giving a list of the lots in the town of Dartmouth, and the names of the proprietors who had complied with the Governor's request regarding settlement and improvement. The number was small, and from this period the township was almost derelict. The Indians still collected in force in the vicinity of Shubenacadie, and were always sending out scouts in search of plunder. The unhappy inhabitants, in constant dread of an attack, passed a miserable existence, and were anxious to escape from a place where there was neither assurance of safety nor promise of prosperity. For nearly thirty years, only these few straggling families held the unfortunate town. The government did nothing to induce later arrivals of emigrants to settle among them, nor took any measures to assist the discouraged occupants in the improvement of the village."

In a note to the above copied by Mr. Piers from "A Description of the Several Towns in the Province of Nova Scotia, with the Lands Comprehended in and bordering upon said Towns, drawn up . . . Jan'y 9, 1762, by Charles Morris, Esq., Chief Surveyor" we find: "The Town of Dartmouth, situated on the opposite side of the Harbour, has at present two Families residing there, who subsist by cutting wood."

winter of 1756-7 Governor Lawrence made a visit of some length to Boston, and when he returned to Halifax wrote the English authorities that he had learned that a group of New Yorkers had been planning a settlement at Cape Sable, the extreme southwestern end of the province, but as no recent attempt had been made to recapture the French fortress of Louisburg they had given the project up as unsafe. From what he knew of the country about the Bay of Fundy, he said, he felt sure that at least twenty thousand families might be "commodiously settled" in the parts of the province that have since then become the counties of Cumberland, Colchester, Hants, Kings, and Annapolis, and that if the fear of French aggression were entirely removed, substantial and useful settlers would flock thither from every part of the American continent. People at Cape Cod, he added, were very anxious to settle, as New Yorkers had proposed to do, at Cape Sable, and though he himself had no knowledge of that remote spot he believed that it might be a suitable place to make the base of a flourishing fishery. While he was in New England he had taken every occasion to discover how New Englanders felt about emigrating, and he had found that it was largely owing to the lack of a representative assembly in Nova Scotia that they had not already made some movement towards asking for grants of the evacuated Chignecto and Minas and Annapolis lands.[22]

Determined efforts to attract settlers from New England to Nova Scotia began to be made by the Government in the autumn of 1758. At that time the Governor and Council prepared a proclamation, the terms of which they had probably for the most part if not entirely already discussed with the Lords of Trade, inviting settlers from New England to the lands formerly occupied by the French and to the hitherto unsettled lands in the province, and sent it to Boston for publication. In the *Boston Gazette* of October 12, 1758, formal announcement is made that the enemy who had so long been disturbing and harassing the province and obstructing its progress had been compelled to

22. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, pp. 330, 331. Lawrence's letter to the Lords of Trade, giving this information was written November 9, 1757.

retire to Canada, and that thus a favorable opportunity was presented for "peopling and cultivating as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable province." The French lands are glowingly described as comprising "upwards of one hundred thousand acres of interval and plow lands, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc." "These have been cultivated, for more than a hundred years past, and never fail of crops, nor need manuring. Also, more than one hundred thousand acres of upland, cleared, and stocked with English grass, planted with orchards, gardens, etc. These lands with good husbandry produce often two loads of hay per acre. The wild and unimproved lands adjoining to the above are well timbered and wooded with beech, black birch, ash, oak, pine, fir, etc. All these lands are so intermixed that every single farmer may have a proportionate quantity of plow land, grass land, and wood land; and all are situated about the Bay of Fundi, upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen." Proposals for settlement, it is stated, "will be received by Mr. Thomas Hancock of Boston [uncle of Governor John Hancock], and Messrs. De Lancey and Watts of New York, and will be transmitted to the Governor of Nova Scotia, or in his absence to the Lieutenant Governor, or the President of the Council."

The interest which this proclamation aroused in New England seems to have been immediate and widespread. A great many men from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had taken part in the first capture of Louisburg, not a few Massachusetts soldiers and sailors had made themselves acquainted with the Nova Scotia peninsula by serving in the capture of Beauséjour and in the expulsion of the Acadians, and fishermen, especially of Cape Cod, were thoroughly familiar with the opportunities for successful fishing in the waters that washed the shores of the sea-girt province to which New Englanders were now invited. Consequently, as soon as the proclamation appeared the agent in Boston was plied with questions as to what terms of encouragement would be offered settlers, how much land each person would receive, what quit-rent and taxes were to be exacted, what constitution of government prevailed, and what freedom in religion settlers would enjoy. The result of these in-

quiries was that at a meeting of council held on Thursday, January 11, 1759, a second proclamation was approved, in which the Governor states that he is empowered to make grants of the best lands in the province. That a hundred acres of wild wood-land will be given each head of a family, and fifty acres additional for each person in his family, young or old, male or female, black or white, subject to a quit-rent of one shilling per fifty acres, the quit-rent to begin, however, not until ten years after the issuing of the grant. The grantees must cultivate or inclose one-third of the land in ten years, one-third more in twenty years, and the remainder in thirty years. No quantity above a thousand acres would at first be granted to any one person; on fulfilment of the terms of the first grant, however, the person receiving the grant would be entitled to another on similar terms. The government of Nova Scotia, it was stated, was constituted like that of the neighbouring colonies, its several branches being a Governor, a Council, and an Assembly. As soon as people were settled, townships of a hundred thousand acres each, or about twelve miles square, would be formed, and each township would be entitled to send two representatives to the Assembly. The courts of justice were constituted like those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other northern colonies; and as to religion, both by his majesty's instructions and by a late act of the Assembly, full liberty of conscience was secured to all "persuasions," Papists only excepted. Settlers were to be amply protected in their homes, for forts garrisoned with royal troops had already been established in close proximity to the lands of which grants would be made.

The first formal movement in New England towards responding to Governor Lawrence's proclamation seems to have been made in eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island. About the middle of April, 1759, several agents from these two colonies arrived at Halifax, commissioned by groups of intending settlers to ascertain the exact condition of the offered lands and to put to the Council questions the proclamation had not entirely answered. On the 18th of April the Council convened at the Governor's house and the agents met its members there. Questions put by the New Englanders being satisfactorily answered, the Council invited the agents to go in a government vessel round the south-

ern shore to Annapolis Basin and up the Bay of Fundy to Chignecto and Minas basins, that they might make a thorough inspection of the chief lands from which the French had been expelled. After nearly a month, the agents, who had been accompanied by Mr. Charles Morris, the government surveyor, one of their own countrymen and as we have seen a highly important official at Halifax, returned, greatly pleased, to the Council, and requested that grants to them and their constituents might immediately be made. Accordingly, on the 17th of the month the Council ordered two grants to be prepared, of a hundred thousand acres each, in what is now the county of King's, these grants including a large part of what had previously been one of the richest and most productive spots in the whole Acadian country. The "townships" with which the grants were synonymous were to be called respectively Horton and Cornwallis, and the large tracts they comprised were to be distributed in individual parts of from 750 to 250 acres (a share and a half to half a share) by some equitable process of division as soon as possible after the settlers should arrive.

On the 27th of June a grant was made of the township of Granville, in Annapolis County, and in July, other agents came and were received by the Council. In August that energetic colonizer Alexander McNutt appeared and applied for lands for a company of Scotch Irish, his own nationality, who or whose fathers had come to the colony of New Hampshire from ten to forty years before. In the end we find a large group of townships, which are comprised now in nine of the fourteen counties in the Nova Scotian peninsula and two or three of the counties of New Brunswick settled by people from New England who had responded to Governor Lawrence's proclamation. In the census of the province (including what is now New Brunswick, and the islands of Cape Breton and St. John (Prince Edward Island), which was made under Lieutenant Governor Francklin's directions in 1766, we find "Americans" given as constituting about half of the entire population of 13,374, and if we add to this number the population in the two townships of Truro and Onslow which is ranked as "Irish," this meaning Scotch Irish from New Hampshire, we shall see that the New Englanders in these prov-

inces number considerably more than the people of all other origins combined.

Of the New England people in this migration of 1760-61, those who settled in Amherst, Annapolis, Barrington, Chester, Cumberland, Granville, Liverpool, Maugerville, Onslow (in part), Sackville, Wilmot, and Yarmouth, were chiefly from Massachusetts, but from widely separated towns in that flourishing province. The settlers in Horton and Cornwallis, the first established townships, were with very few exceptions from the chief townships of eastern Connecticut. The settlers in Hants County, the townships of Falmouth and Newport, were almost wholly from the several Rhode Island towns bordering on Narragansett Bay; while Truro and in part Onslow, in what is now Colchester County, were settled by Scotch Irish, who had lived in Londonderry, New Hampshire, and neighbouring New Hampshire towns. In Onslow, however, a large number of the most important of the permanent settlers were Massachusetts-born people of strictly English descent.

It is surprising how few mentions have been made by New England local historians of this large widespread migration to Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761, but three interesting notices of it, though slight ones, we do find. In her history of the ancient town of New London, Connecticut, Miss Frances Mainwaring Caulkins says: "The clearing of Nova Scotia of the French opened the way for the introduction of English colonists. Between this period [1760] and the Revolution, the tide of immigration set thitherward from New England, and particularly from Connecticut. Menis, Amherst, Dublin, and other towns in the province, received a large proportion of their first planters from New London County." And in her history of Norwich this author says: "Nova Scotia was then [1760] open to immigrants, and speculation was busy with its lands. Farms and townships were thrown into the market, and adventurers were eager to take possession of the vacated seats of the exiled Acadians. The provincial government caused these lands to be distributed into towns and sections, and lots were offered to actual settlers on easy terms. The inhabitants of the eastern part of Connecticut and several citizens of Norwich in particular, entered largely

into these purchases, as they did also into the purchase made at the same period on the Delaware River. The proprietors held their meetings at the town-house in Norwich, and many persons of even small means were induced to become subscribers, in the expectation of bettering their fortunes. The townships of Dublin, Horton, Falmouth, Cornwallis, and Amherst were settled in part by Connecticut emigrants. Sloops were sent from Norwich and New London with provisions and passengers. One of these in a single trip conveyed a hundred and thirty-seven settlers from New London County." Mention is also made of the migration in Macy's *History of Nantucket*. "It would seem by the preceding account of the whale fisheries," it says, "that the [Nantucket] people were industrious and doing well and that business was in a flourishing state. No one would suppose that under the circumstances any of the inhabitants could feel an inclination to emigrate with their families to other places; yet some, believing that they would improve their condition, removed to Nova Scotia, some to Kennebeck, some to New Garden, in the State of South Carolina, etc."

In several Nova Scotia local histories, however, accounts of the migration of much greater importance will be found. The most complete county histories of Nova Scotia are the histories of Annapolis and Kings, and in both of these much light will be found on the advent of these New Englanders to the province in 1760 and '61, and on the method pursued of distributing lands to them. Another work of special interest dealing with the migration is a volume by Ven. Archdeacon Raymond, LL.D., entitled "The River St. John, its Physical Features, Legends, and History, from 1604 to 1784." In his account of the settlement of Maugerville (in what is now New Brunswick), Dr. Raymond says:

"At the time the grant of this township was being made out the obnoxious Stamp Act was coming into force in America and the Crown Land Office at Halifax was besieged with people pressing for their grants in order to save stamp duties." "Nearly all the first settlers of the township of Maugerville were from Massachusetts, the majority from the single county of Essex. Thus the Burpees were from Rowley, the Perleys from Boxford,

the Estexs from Newburyport, while other families were from Haverhill, Ipswich, Gloucester, Salem, and other towns of this ancient county, which antedates all others in Massachusetts but Plymouth."

As we have seen, the people who came chiefly for fishing to the southwestern shore of the province, were in great part from Cape Cod and Nantucket,[23] while those who chose farms in the interior were from a variety of towns where agriculture was the chief occupation. By the History of Annapolis we find that the people who settled that important county were from such widely separated, for the most part agricultural, Massachusetts towns as Barnstable, Byfield, Cambridge, Dorchester, Groton, Haverhill, Lunenburg, Marlborough, Medford, Mendon, Plympton, Sherborn, Shirley, Taunton, Westborough, Worcester, and Wrentham. Settlers in Onslow came from Brookfield Dudley, Spencer, Western (now Warren), and perhaps Worcester, in Worcester County; Brimfield and Palmer, in Hampden County; Medfield in Norfolk; Malden, Reading, and Woburn, in Middle-

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23. "The first people of English descent to fix their abodes at the head of caves and harbours around the shores of southwestern Nova Scotia were fishermen mostly from Cape Cod and Nantucket in Massachusetts. They were not refugees for loyalty's sake but 'hard liners' and net men, who had found out by their fearless cruises in 'pink stern' craft that fish abounded in those waters. The proclamation of the Nova Scotia Colonial Governor inviting settlers from New England and elsewhere to occupy the vacated lands followed immediately the expulsion of the Acadians, and as early as 1757, Governor Lawrence writes of having received 'application from a number of substantial persons in New England for lands to settle at or near Cape Sable.' A first company for some reason or other failed to make a settlement, but in 1761-1762 a large number representing the best families of Cape Cod and Nantucket removed to the Cape Sable district and formed a settlement at what is now the town of Barrington. They were for the most part a lot of intelligent and so far as the times allowed, educated men." "The Doane Family," Boston, 1902. See pp. 75, 76.

"In 1760-1763, Barrington was settled by about 80 families from Nantucket and Cape Cod, and in 1767 the township was granted to 102 persons." "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," by George S. Brown, (1888) p. 127.

"In 1764 the population of Liverpool was 500. These persons had arrived at this place in 1762-3-4. There were, however, some arrivals as early as 1759." "History of Queen's County," by James F. More, Esq. (1873), p. 13. Mr. More also says that the first warrant of survey for a grant in Liverpool was made some time in 1759. The first effective grant of the township was made in 1764.

The people of Yarmouth, Barrington, Liverpool, Chester, and Dublin "came with scarcely any exceptions from the Nantucket and Cape Cod districts of the Colony of Massachusetts, and save Chester and Dublin these townships are still mainly peopled by descendants of the original families." Dr. David Allison, in *Coll. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 7.

"For many years before any families settled in this County, our harbours of Yarmouth and Chebogue were the resort of American fishermen."

Rev. J. R. Campbell in "History of the County of Yarmouth," p. 25.

sex; and North Bridgewater, in Plymouth. By the History of King's County we see that the settlers in Cornwallis and Horton had previously lived in such Connecticut towns as Bolton, Canterbury, Colchester, Danbury, East Haddam, Fairfield, Greenwich, Groton, Guilford, Hebron, Killingworth, Lebanon, Lyme, Middle Haddam, New London, Norwich, Preston, Saybrook, Stonington, Tolland, Wallingford, Windham, and Windsor. The earlier homes of the settlers in Falmouth and Newport, we shall find to have been in the Rhode Island towns of East and West Greenwich, Little Compton, Middletown, Newport, North and South Kingstown, Portsmouth, and Warwick.

In the census of the province made under the direction of Lieutenant-Governor Francklin in 1766, of which we have already spoken, the nationalities of the people in the several townships for the first time are given, and in that census we see that in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and that part of the province that since 1784 has been known as New Brunswick, with Cape Breton Island also, and Prince Edward Island as well, of a total population of 13,374, the number ranked as "Americans" is almost 7,000. The nationality that figures most largely next to American is "Irish," and this of course means Scotch-Irish, of which people 401 are given as in the two townships of Truro and Onslow. But the people of these two townships though, as we have seen, of Scotch-Irish stock, had many of them been born in New Hampshire, in which colony their parents or grandparents had settled, in some cases as much as forty years before. A considerable number of these, therefore, we may properly regard as Americans, but even with such addition we do not think it likely that seven thousand comes anywhere near the true number of the original immigrants from New England in 1759-61. Not a few who were granted lands and came to the province before 1762 soon became dissatisfied and returned to New England, and we cannot feel absolute certainty that the census of 1767 reports with entire accuracy the full number of the people that remained after these were gone. The most reasonable guess we could make concerning the actual numerical strength of this migration would fix the number who came from New England

in 1759-61 as somewhere between seven and ten thousand souls.[24] Of these seven to ten thousand it is probable that something like two thousand settled in five or six townships of what is now the province of New Brunswick, on the St. John river or near the isthmus which connects the two provinces. It is evident that few settled either in Cape Breton or in Prince Edward Island.

Of the superior intelligence and high moral worth of these settlers in Nova Scotia in 1759-61 too much cannot possibly be said. Many of them were people of influential standing in the New England towns from which they had come, their willingness to emigrate arising from the common wish, especially with people of English stock, to be considerable owners of land. One has only to know intimately the character of the institutions they reared in Nova Scotia, their interest in education and in religion, their strong self-respect and the generally high moral worth that underlay that self-respect, to hold these New England settlers in Nova Scotia in the highest esteem. From the people of this migration have come such men as the noted Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the Honourable Samuel George William Archibald, the Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, Baronet, Professor Simon Newcomb, the astronomer, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, the present premier of Canada, and many other distinguished public men. In every sort of industrial and professional life, members of these notable New England families have held foremost places, a great many such naturally finding spheres of distinction and usefulness in those States of the American Union which were originally the colonies whence their ancestors had migrated. Known the continent over are such names as Archibald, Borden, Chipman, Collins, Dimock, Eaton, Haliburton, Irish, Longley, Morse, Newcomb, Rand, Starr, Tupper, Woodworth, Young, and many others.

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24. In 1783, according to the report of Lieut-Col. Morse to Sir Guy Carleton, there were in the peninsula of Nova Scotia and that large part of the present province of New Brunswick that was called the County of Sunbury, 14,000 "old British inhabitants," one thousand of whom Morse gives as within the present New Brunswick limits. It is almost certain that the actual number of these *old settlers* was much larger than Morse reported it, but at present we have no means of knowing what it really was.

NOVA SCOTIA TOWNSHIPS SETTLED FROM NEW ENGLAND BETWEEN 1760 AND 1765, WITH DATES OF THE EARLIEST LARGE GRANTS

AMHERST, 1763.

History in part given by W. C. Milner in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. 15.

ANNAPOLIS, August 4, 1759.

History by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary in "History of Annapolis County," 1897.

BARRINGTON, December 4, 1767.

History, in part, given by George S. Brown in "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A Sequel to Campbell's History," 1888. See p. 127. Also "Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington, in the Revolutionary War," by Edmund Duval Poole, 1899, pp. 133.

CHESTER, October 18, 1759.

The township first called "Shoreham." History given in "History of Lunenburg County," by Judge M. B. Des Brisay, 1895.

CORNWALLIS, May 21, 1759.

History given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in "History of King's County," 1910.

CUMBERLAND, 1763.

History in part given by W. C. Milner in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 15.

FALMOUTH, July 21, 1759.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton in *Americana* (magazine), January, 1915.

GRANVILLE, June 27, 1759.

History given by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary in "History of Annapolis County," 1897.

HORTON, May 21, 1759.

History given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton in "History of King's County," 1910.

LIVERPOOL, 1759.

MAUGERVILLE, October 31, 1765.

History given by Ven. Archdeacon W. O. Raymond, LL.D., in "The River St. John, Its Physical Features, Legends, and History from 1604 to 1784."

NEWPORT, July 21, 1761.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in *Americana* (magazine), January, 1915.

ONSLOW, July 24, 1758.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in "Settling of Colchester County," etc., in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada"; Third Series, Vol. 6, 1912.

SACKVILLE, 1763.

History in part given by W. C. Milner, in "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 15.

TRURO, November 24, 1759.

History of settlement given by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, in "Settling of Colchester County," etc., in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada"; Third Series, Vol. 6, 1912.

WILMOT, 1764.

History given by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary, in "History of Annapolis County," 1877.

YARMOUTH, September 1, 1759.

History given in "History of the County of Yarmouth," by Rev. J. R. Campbell, 1876, pp. 200; and in "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," by George S. Brown, 1888, pp. 524.*

Of especial interest is "The River St. John, Its Physical Features, Legends, and History, from 1604 to 1784." By Rev. William O. Raymond, LL.D., F. R. S. C., 1910, pp. 552.

APPENDIX

The Province of Nova Scotia has eighteen counties, fourteen of which are in the Peninsula of Nova Scotia and four in the Island of Cape Breton. Of a few of these counties detailed Histories of great interest and value have been published: of others no complete Histories have been put in print, but published monographs of value, or yet unpublished manuscripts, may be found in various quarters. Such Histories and monographs are as follows:

ANNAPOLIS. "History of the County of Annapolis," by W. A. Calnek and Judge A. W. Savary, 1897, pp. 660. "Supplement to the history of the County of Annapolis," by A. W. Savary, M. A., D. C. L., 1913, pp. 142. See also "Memoir of Governor Paul Mascarene," by J. Mascarene Hubbard, printed as a third appendix to "Historical Records of the 40th Regiment," published in 1894.

ANTIGONISH. No history, far as we know, written.

COLCHESTER. History in part written by Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, but still chiefly in manuscript. That part relating to the settlement of the county however, published in "The Settling of Colchester County by New England Puritans and Ulster Scotsmen," in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Third Series, 1912, pp. 221-265. Also, "Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County," by Thomas Miller, 1873, pp. 400.

CUMBERLAND. Of this county no history has been written, but a valuable monograph entitled "History of Beau Séjour," by W. C. Milner (representative of the Dominion Archives at Halifax) was published in Coll. of the N. S. Soc., Vol. 15, and reprinted as "Records of Chignecto." A small volume exists entitled "The Chicgnecto Isthmus and Its First Settlers," by Howard Trueman, pp. 268. See also N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, Vol. 63 (1909).

*The "thirteen old townships," commonly so called, were probably: Annapolis, Barrington, Cornwallis, Cumberland, Falmouth, Granville, Horton, Liverpool, Newport, Onslow, Sackville, Truro, Yarmouth.

DIGBY. "A Geography and History of the County of Digby," by Isaiah W. Wilson (1900), pp. 471.

GUYSBOROUGH. A history of this county has been written by Mrs. James E. Hart (Harriet Cunningham Hart), which, still in manuscript, is in the custody of the N. S. Hist. Soc.

HALIFAX. Many monographs on Halifax city will be found in the "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," the most important being Dr. Thomas Beamish Akins's chronicles. Of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, a valuable history by Mrs. William Lawson was published in Halifax in 1893, (pp. 260). See also "Footprints Around and about Bedford Basin," by George Mullane (reprinted from the *Acadian Recorder*), pp. 49.

HANTS. The chief monograph on Hants county that has been written is found in a series of three articles in *Americana*, entitled "Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761." (*Americana* for Jan., Feb., and March, 1915). By Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton. See also a sketch (bound as a small volume) by Ray Greene Huling, entitled "The Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia," 1889, pp. 49. The chief facts in this sketch are included in Dr. Eaton's articles in *Americana*, and mentioned above. See also a pamphlet by Henry Youle Hind, entitled "Old Parish Burying Ground of Windsor, Nova Scotia," 1889, pp. 99. The chief facts in this pamphlet also are included in Dr. Eaton's articles in *Americana*.

KING'S. "The History of King's County, Nova Scotia, Heart of the Acadian Land," by Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton (the Salem Press So., Salem, Mass., 1910), pp. 898.

LUNENBURG. "History of the County of Lunenburg," by Judge Mather Byles DesBrisay, 2nd edition, 1895, pp. 585. Historical work of great value, it is understood, is now being done in the county.

PICTOU. "History of the County of Pictou," by Rev. George Patterson, D. D., 1877, pp. 471.

QUEENS. "History of Queen's County," by James F. More, Esq., 1873, pp. 250.

SHELBURNE. Facts in the history of Shelburne are given in Brown's "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," pp. 129-131, and 134, 135. Several articles of great value in the Collections of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Historical Societies, especially one on the Loyalists of Shelburne by the Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith, in the 6th volume of the N. S. Hist. Coll.

YARMOUTH. "History of the County of Yarmouth," by Rev. J. R. Campbell, 1876, pp. 200. "Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. A sequel to Campbell's History," by George S. Brown, 1888, pp. 524. "Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington, Nova Scotia, in the Revolutionary War," by Edmund Duval Poole, 1899, pp. 133.

The above are all the counties of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia; on the four counties of the island of Cape Breton—Cape Breton, Inverness, Richmond, and Victoria, so far as we know little has been written except in Brown's History of the whole island.

GENERAL HISTORICAL WORKS ON NOVA SCOTIA

"An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia." By Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Esq. 2 vols., Halifax, 1829.

"A History of Nova Scotia or Acadia." By Beamish Murdoch, Esq., Q. C. 3 vols. Halifax, 1865, 1866, 1867.

Nova Scotia in its Historical, Mercantile, and Industrial Relations." By Duncan Campbell, Halifax, N. S., pp. 548. Published in Montreal in 1873.

"The Church of England in Nova Scotia, and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution." By Dr. Arthur Wentworth H. Eaton, pp. 370. New York, Second Edition, 1892.

"History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces." By Rev. Edward Manning Saunders, D. D. 1902, pp. 520.

"History of the Methodist Church within the Territories embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermunda." By Rev. T. Watson Smith, D. D. 2 vols. 1877 and 1890. Pp. 491 and 499.

"A History of the Island of Cape Breton, with Some Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland." By Richard Brown, F. G. S. 1869, pp. 464.

"Cape Breton and Its Memorials." By [Sir] J. G. Bourinot, LL.D., D. C. L. 1892. Pp. 175—with maps, illustrations, and an index.

"Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia." By [Canon] C. W. Vernon, pp. 259. Halifax, 1910.

"Montcalm and Wolfe." By Francis Parkman. Chiefly on the Expulsion of the Acadians and the capture of Fort Beauséjour.

"Narrative and Critical History of America." 1886 and 1887. Vol. 4. Pp. 135-162; and Vol. 5, pp. 407-419.

"On the Early History of New Brunswick. With notes by W. F. Ganong." By Moses Perley. 1891, pp. 29. "Footprints or Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick." By J. W. Lawrence, St. John, 1883.

"An Historical Sketch of the First Fifty Years of the Church of England in the Province of New Brunswick." By George Herbert Lee. 1880. Pp.

"History of Prince Edward Island." By Duncan Campbell. 1875. Pp. 224.

"History of Presbyterianism on Prince Edward Island." By John M. MacLeod. 1904, pp. 279.

The Beaver as a Factor in the Development of New England*

H. L. Babcock, M. D.

NO animal has been as closely associated with, and instrumental in the development of New England as the beaver. Its pelt at once became the unit of trade between the Colonists and Indians, and remained so for many years, while on the other hand, the colonies shipped thousands of beaver skins to England annually, which were received instead of gold, in payment of debts. To what extent the Christianizing of the Indians (which was one of the requirements set forth in the Massachusetts Bay Charter) was furthered by the trade in beaver, or how much the beaver trade was stimulated through the attempts to Christianize the Indians, are questions which so closely involve the inner workings of the early colonial development that definite answers are impossible. It is quite evident, however, that each factor aided the other very materially. On the other hand in all of the Indian wars it is possible to trace part of their origin at least to bad feelings among the Indians over trading relations of some sort.

Before taking up its historical associations a brief description may be of interest. The Beaver, also called Canadian Beaver, (*Castor Canadensis* Kuhl) is the largest rodent in the Western Hemisphere with the exception of the Capybara of South America. It is of an ancient type, fossil remains of great size having been found in different parts of the United States. In appearance it resembles a huge muskrat, with the exception of its tail which is broad and flat, like a trowel. Its total length is three feet or slightly more. The color is deep chestnut above and

*Read before the Dedham Historical Society, Jan. 5, 1916.

lighter below, the outer hair being coarse and long while the under fur is soft and compact.

The food of the beaver consists of bark of the poplar or quaking aspen, but it will eat the bark and twigs of most of the hardwoods, roots, marsh grass, etc. Beaver secure their food by felling trees (some stumps measuring as much as thirty inches in diameter[1]) after which the smaller branches are cut into lengths of a foot or more, and fastened in the mud in the bottom of the pond to be used when necessary. After the bark has been eaten, the stick is used on the dam, or lodge.

In some of its habits the beaver shows remarkable ingenuity. Selecting its favorite environment, a small lake or sluggish stream, it builds dams composed of sticks, stones, roots and mud, thereby holding the water back until a pond of a constant depth is formed on the upper side. In this pond are constructed their lodges, of the same material as the dams, to a height of from three to five feet. These lodges contain one circular chamber lined with mud, having usually two entrances from beneath. Eight animals, the parents and their off-spring of several previous years have been generally observed to occupy a single lodge. In certain localities Bank Beaver are found, animals which do not build houses, but live in holes in the side of river banks.

Perhaps its most remarkable feat is the construction of canals. When the food supply in the immediate vicinity of the pond is exhausted, excavations are made through the bordering lowlands to new groups of trees, which are then cut and the sections floated through the canals to the main pond. These waterways are about two feet wide and sometimes extend for a distance of 600 feet from the pond.[2] Though a very clumsy animal when on land, the beaver is an expert swimmer.

In spite of these unusual habits the beaver occupies a low position in the evolutionary scale of mammals. The brain is nearly smooth, as in rabbits, and other rodents. Its remarkable performances are probably due to instinct, being definite reactions to definite stimuli. The fur is prime for half the year. Occasional black specimens are taken, and as in case of black foxes the pelts have a higher value. In the southern portion of their range, specimens have been observed which were nearly white.[2a] The

beaver was formerly distributed over all of temperate America, but has been exterminated over vast areas.

To the Indians for generations the beaver was "the staff of life." They used the flesh for food, the fur for clothing, bed coverings, hangings in their wigwams and as gifts. Beaver robes were given as a marriage dowry. Castoreum, the secretion from the specialized scent glands, was considered a most efficient remedy for ear-ache, deafness, headache, loss of memory, and insanity. The skins were a medium of exchange and the chief article of wealth. The Indians had various methods for capturing the beaver. One was to drive the animals out of their lodge into accessory dens which they usually had on the banks of the stream, close the mouth of the burrough and then dig it open. Another was to make a stake fence in the ice around the food pile with one opening marked by a thin stick. A watchman waited nearby until the stick moved, showing that a beaver had entered the enclosure. A stake was then driven down, and the beaver, unable to get back to its lodge, soon drowned. Dead falls were also employed. Such crude methods of trapping were abandoned after the introduction of steel traps, these being set at various points near the entrance to the lodge or in a fresh break in the dam.

Many supersitions regarding the animal existed among the different tribes. It was worshiped as a creative deity by the Sioux, and was supposed to possess certain virtues especially in association with illness and death. In this connection an early English adventurer wrote: "A garment made of the skinnes is good for a paralitick person, and the skinnes burned with drie oynions and liquid pitch, styeth the bleeding of the nose, and being put into the soles of shoes, easeth the gowt."[3]

There were many interesting legends concerning the beaver, one of which has an especial interest as it concerns the "West Range" of mountains in the region of Deerfield, Mass., which tract of land was granted to the Dedham people in exchange for that part of our township set apart as Natick for the Indians. The legend says[4] that this range of mountains is the petrified body of a huge beaver which used to disport itself in a pond of corresponding dimensions. This animal, by continued depreda-

tions on the shores, had offended Hobomok, who at length determined to kill it. Accordingly armed with the trunk of an enormous oak, he waded into the water and attacked the monster, and, after a desperate contest the beaver was despatched by a blow across his neck. The carcass sank to the bottom of the pond and turned to stone. It is said that from a certain angle this range assumes the form of just such a gigantic beaver as the legend claims.

The possibilities of the beaver trade had doubtless been brought to the attention of English merchants and adventurers by early explorers, for beside those who came over for religious reasons, there were many who came purely for trade. One early writer goes so far as to claim that "the rich trade for Beaver skins" was the chief aim of the English nation in "planting these parts."[5] Companies were formed in England for colonization, inducements being, among others, half the trade in beaver and other fur. For a good while the settlers were content to leave the trapping to the Indians, but later on it became, and even now is, the occupation of a considerable number of white men.

Some of the early descriptions of the beaver and his works, by explorers and settlers are good,[5a] others very amusing. Wood, in his "New England's Prospect" wrote:[6] "The wisedome and understanding of this Beast, will almost conclude him a reasonable creature. His shape is thicke and short, having likewise short legs, feete like a Mole before, and behind like a Goose, a broad tayle in form like a shooe-soale, very tough and strong; his head is something like an Otters head, saving that his teeth before, be placed like the teeth of a Rabbit, two above, and two beneath; sharpe and broad, with which he cuts down trees as thick as a man's thigh, sometimes as big as a man's body, afterwards dividing them into lengths, according to the use they are appointed for. If one Beaver be too weake to carrie the logge, then another helps him; if they two be too weake, then . . . foure more adding their helpe, being placed three to three, which set their teeth in one anothers tough tayles, and laying the loade on the two hindermost, they draw the logge to the desired place."

Another description by Captain John Smith reads:[7] "The Beaver is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges

exceeding short. His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without haire; which to eate, the Savages esteeme a great delicate."

Roger Williams speaks of the beaver as a "beast of wonder for cutting and drawing great pieces of trees with his teeth."[8] Another writer makes the very incorrect observation that their "Buildings are three or four Stories high."[9]

One proof of the important place which the beaver occupied in the minds of the early settlers is the fact that the name was applied to so many localities and objects. We have in this Commonwealth: Beaver Brooks, Beaver Stations, Beaver Creek, Beaver Dam Brook, Beaver Dam Pond, Beaver Lake, Beaver Meadow Village and Beaver Ponds. In our local region there is in Canton, Beaver Brook and Beaver Hole Meadow Brook, Beaver Pond in Franklin and in Bellingham. Mr. Smith,[10] in his "Dover Farms," speaks of a beaver dam that was situated on Mill Brook, which rises in Westwood and flows through Dover. I am informed that at one end of Indian Head Pond in Pembroke, there is still standing a ridge of considerable length, being the remains of an old beaver dam.[11] We read of colonists trading with the Indians for beaver skins near the mouth of the Charles River.[12] Winthrop refers to a company that went up the Charles River (1631) "about eight miles above Watertown, and named the first brook, on the north side of the river . . . Beaver Brook, because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams across the brook."[13] Later (1636) a grant of land called the Beaver Brook Plowland was made in that region.[14] The beaver appeared on the coat-of-arms of the colony of New Netherlands and on seals and stamps used by the Canadian Government.

We find the Plymouth colony almost immedately engaging with the Indians in trade for beaver. In fact, the trade in furs began with the first meeting with the Indians at Patuxet (New Plymouth), Samoset being urged on his first visit to bring in the neighboring Indians "with such Bevers skins as they had to trucke,"[15] and later through Massasoit and Tisquantum the trade with the Massachusetts Bay and surrounding tribes was

organized, beaver skins being the basis of all exchange. This trade often proved a source of competition and strife, not only among individuals but later between the several colonies; trouble with the Indians and disputes over boundaries having frequently arisen from this cause alone.

In Plymouth, after the first hard winter was over and the supply of corn assured, the settlers found more time for developing the fur trade with the Indians. Bradford speaks of an exploring party sent out in 1621 which "brought home a good quantity of beaver."[16] In 1626, after the harvest, they began trading with the Indians at "Kenibeck," sending out a boat load of corn and bringing home 700 li. of beaver and other furs. From the first the merchants of London who were financing the various settlements, seemed anxious to get all the beaver skins they could,[17] the result being that a great many of the colonists' debts were paid to London in beaver. The skins were chiefly used in the manufacture of hats and coats. Soon shipments were being made containing large quantities of beaver skins. In 1621 the "Fortune" was "dispatcht away, being laden with good clapbord as full as she could stowe, and 2 hoggsheads of beaver and other skins." The next year they sent the Anne with "all ye beaver and other furrs they had," and Winslow was sent over with her, "to informe of all things."[18]

From that time on there are records of frequent shipments of beaver skins from Plymouth to England; in 1630 by Ashley, 1631 by Winslow, 1632 in a ship belonging chiefly to Mr. Sherley, they sent "upwards of 800 li. . . . and some otter skines;" in 1634 a shipment by Winslow of 3738 li; in 1636 another by Winslow; in 1637 shipment to Andrews and Beachamp, and also one in 1638.

The returns from the beaver trade between 1631 and 1636 amounted to about £10,000 sterling for the Plymouth Plantation alone, which more than paid the debts of the colony. This method of re-imbursing the London companies was eagerly grasped by the men and in speaking of it, Bradford says: "It pleased the Lord to inable them this year (1633) to send home a great quantity of beaver, besides paing all their charges, and debts at home, which good returne did much incourage their friends in

England. They sent in beaver 3366 li. waight, and much of it coat beaver, which yeeled 20s. per pound, and some of it above; and of otter-skines 346 sould also at a good prise."[19]

Various private companies were formed here in New England to promote trade in furs. In Plymouth (1627) such a company was formed, its object being to pay off the debt of the Plantation of about £2400 as well as to help friends in Leyden to come over. Later it was admitted that the company did have other ends in view which they were "faine to keepe secrete." This company was composed of William Bradford, Capt. Myles Standish, Isaack Allerton, and others. Another company was formed in Massachusetts Bay in 1629,[20] composed of five adventurers and five planters, to have control of various activities, including the beaver trade, for seven years. About this time a company for this purpose was formed in Salem, composed of Roger Conant, Peter Palfrey, Anthony Dike, and Francis Johnson.[21]

These companies were of a semi-official nature in that they undertook to pay off the charges and debts of their respective colonies. This was considered preferable at that time to raising the amounts due by general taxation. All this time the London merchants were keeping in touch with the colonists, advising them of the condition of business and other matters. We find Francis Kirby writing to John Winthrop, Jr., [22] (then in New England) describing to him the method for judging the various grades of beaver fur, and a year later commenting on the good quality of a lot just received, calling it "pretty good sort of bever." He adds that the shipment of beaver from the Plymouth Plantation to London was so large that year that it lowered the price. The price was lowered also in 1630, owing to a great epidemic which visited London, driving many people away to the country. Somewhat later (1700) in Montreal, beaver skins were burned to keep the price up.[23]

As the fur trade grew it became evident that some regulation was necessary in order to hold it within bounds. The English first attempted to regulate the price from London, setting it (in 1630) at 6s per pound. This attempt was not successful as the Indians withheld their furs, until that same year the restrictions on the rate of beaver had to be removed and "lefte

free for every man to make the best proffitt and improvement" of it he could. The price soon rose again. Regulations of the trade by the various colonies was then instituted. In 1631 the Mass. Bay Colony held a meeting to discuss the matter and adjust differences in regard thereto. It was decided to have a trucking house in every plantation whither the Indians might resort to trade and that the fur trade be "farmed," and all others restrained from trading. The following year the Colony laid a tax of 12d per pound on all beaver bought of the Indians. This tax, however, was repealed shortly afterward (1634). Later £25 was paid for the privilege of beaver trade for one year, and a fine of £100 imposed for trading without a license.

The General Court appointed agents to visit the various traders in different towns and collect the fees. At the close of the report of the collector for 1634 it is stated that the order of the Court to the effect that there should be but one in a town to trade in beaver was not observed.[24]

Gold being not common in the colonies, beaver soon came to be an accepted substitute between private individuals, being also received in the Colonial treasury as currency. In 1635 an order was given stating that debts should be paid in money or beaver. (Other commodities such as corn, grain or livestock were occasionally used, but not as often.) Assessments laid on the several towns to defray the "country charges" were payable in beaver.

Weeden cites this interesting account kept in beaver at Piscataqua:[25] "Beaver disposed on since the first of April, 1633.

Pd. the Smith for work 2 lbs. of beaver and 2 shillings in beaver at 2 several times.
Pd. Mr. Dole for 7 gallons of aq. vitae and spice, beaver 4 lbs.
Pd. Mr. Luxon for 10 gallons and ½ of vinigar, beaver 2¼ lb.
To Mr. Luxon for ½ barrell of butter, beaver 1 lb. and 14 oz.
For 2 pr. of shoes and 2 axes, beaver 1 lb.
For 6 gallons of mathiglin, b. 2 lbs.
To the taylor for mending blanketts, beaver ½ lb.
June 20, for sope, beaver 1 lb.
For 7 gallons aq. vitae, 2 otters and 4 musquosh with stones.
For 14 fathoms of wampum, beav. 15 lb. and ¾ qrs."

Bradford speaks of the colonists aiding a Mr. Weston who was financially in trouble by giving him 100 beaver skins, which weighed 170 odd pounds. "Thus they helpt him when all the world faild him," he says.[26]

All through this period beaver continued to be about as good a remittance to Europe as gold. Salaries were paid, fines imposed and revenues collected in the skins of this animal. As examples: An Indian named Chickataubott was fined one beaver skin for shooting a swine of Sir Richard Saltonstall;[27] a tax of nine pounds of beaver was imposed for the keeping of cattle. In many early Massachusetts deeds the beaver skin is mentioned in the terms of transfer, as; "payable in money, Bevar or merchantable dry Codfish."[27a]

The tendency to send all the available beaver skins and money either to England or to other colonies in payment of debts, forced the price abnormally high so that very early (1631) it became necessary to prohibit the exportation of skins or money without permit from the Governor under pain of forfeiture. Later (1646) it evidently seemed best to stop all exportation temporarily for the following law was passed: "Whereas some persons, more seeking their own private advantage than the good of the Publick, do transport rawhydes and pelts. It is ordered that henceforth no person shall deliver aboard any ship or other vessel, directly or indirectly, any ray hide, skin, pelt or leather unwrought, with intent to have the same transported out of this jurisdiction, upon pain to forfeit the same, or the value thereof,"[28] . . .

In spite of all these attempted restrictions, the revenue to the various colonial governments was not great in the early years. The problem itself was so big and the means for enforcing the regulations so crude that there was no system nor uniformity regarding it. The price for skins was always fluctuating, either from inability to get the fur from the Indians, who often were unreasonable in their demands, or from conditions affecting the market in London. The two principal Masaschusetts colonies realized the chaotic condition of the trade and also the necessity of righting it. In a letter from Gov. Bellingham in the Mass. Bay Colony to the Plymouth Plantation he says: "Another thing

I should mention to you, for the maintenance of the trad of beaver; if ther be not a company to order it in every jurisdition among the English, which companies should agree in generall of their way in trade, I suppose that the trade will be overthrowne, and the Indians will abuse us."[29]

As much as eight quarts of Indian corn had to be given for a beaver skin at one time,[30] while at another, when beaver was 30s per pound, skins were piled up on each side of a trade gun until they were on a level with the muzzle, and this was the price! As the muskets cost in England about 15s, this rate of exchange was quite profitable. For a time (1636) the Plymouth colony had difficulty in getting their pay from the English merchants and so withheld all their furs.

About 1631 John Pynchon opened an important trading post at Springfield. It soon became so large that complaints were made to the effect that business was being spoiled by over-competition. A few years later the Dutch complained that Pynchon had "damnified trade,"[31] by paying very high prices for skins (11 guilders for one beaver skin.) Gradually trade became quite extensive among the settlements along the Atlantic coast. The Dutch (who began shipping beaver skins as early as 1624) were receiving 10,000 to 15,000 skins annually from New England. Dorchester opened up a trade with Connecticut River Indians (1633.) The Dutch had trading posts in the Narragansett region and Manomet also in the Connecticut River region. On account of the latter, a dispute arose between them and the Plymouth Plantation (1633) over a trading house in a very rich territory from which came large quantities of beaver that were traded between Virginia and Canada. There was a continual struggle with the Dutch for the Connecticut River trade and often strained relations existed. In 1653 two ships bound for London belonging to John Hull and containing beaver and other furs were captured by these Dutch settlers and the cargo confiscated. (This loss of beaver on sea was more or less constant. Vessels loaded with beaver and other furs were taken by the French or by Turkish men-of-war, and even up to and during the American Revolution the trade in beaver suffered from pirates and privateers.)

The New Amsterdam authorities also remonstrated with the

N. E. colonies for trading in beaver on the Hudson River, and later (1701) New York lessened the duty on beaver to encourage and stimulate the importation of skins to that port. In 1641 the General Court instituted a new scheme for trade with the Indians, appointing three persons from every town except Boston and Charlestown, the former of which had three or four, and the latter two. They empowered this association for three years to sell any commodity except ammunition and weapons to the natives for wampum and peltry. For this privilege the company agreed to several conditions, among which was to pay the colony 1-20 of their furs.

This system of "farming" the beaver trade was fairly satisfactory and was continued for some time, although frequently altered by new orders from the Court.

Another later order (1668) reads: "It is ordered and by this Court enacted that the Treasurer of the Country with the assistance of Capt. Daniel Gookin, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, and Mr. John Richards, be, and is hereby impowered and authorized, to Rent, Set or to Farm, let, for the use and in the behalf of the Country, for one or more years not exceeding three years, all these particulars following:

Viz. 1. The Import of Wine, Brande and Rhum
2. The benefit of Beaver, Furrs, and Peltry with the Indians.
3. The Rates of drawing of Wines from Vintners.
4. The Rates upon Beer, Cyder, Ale, Mum, from public Sellers.
5. The benefit of selling Ammunition to Indians.

Cases were continually arising which required special legislation, as for instance the order for seizure and confiscation of vessels and goods of all persons trading in furs with the Indians in Nova Scotia without a license.[32] One year (1659) the rent for the entire beaver trade was expended for powder to be placed in the store house.[33] At another time, evidently to raise a little extra revenue, the trading agents or Truckmasters, as they were called, were required to pay 20 or 30 Beaver skins as an acknowledgment of allegiance to His Majesty the King of England.

As the various towns grew and new tracts of land were opened

up, more trading houses were erected on the several frontiers. The trading posts were now conducted by Truckmasters appointed each year by the General Court and required to give annually an account of their trading activities.

In 1703 the Court approved the following list[34] for prices of goods supplied to the Eastern Indians by the various Truckmasters:

July 14, 1703.
Prices of Goods
Supplied to the Eastern Indians,
By the several Truckmasters; and of the Peltry received
by the Truckmasters of the said Indians.

One yard Broad Cloth, three Beaver skins, in season.
One yard & half Gingerline, one Beaver skin, in season.
One yard Red or Blew Kerfey, two Beaver skins, in season.
One yard good Duffels, one Beaver skin, in season.
One yard & half broad fine Cotton, one Beaver skin, in season.
Two yards of Cotton, one Beaver skin, in season.
One yard & half of half thicks, one Beaver skin, in season.
Five Pecks Indian Corn, one Beaver skin, in season.
Five Pecks Indian Micar, one Beaver skin, in season.
Four Pecks Pease, one Beaver skin, in season.
Two Pints of Powder, one Beaver skin, in season.
One Pint of Shot, one Beaver skin, in season.
Six Fathom of Tobacco, one Beaver skin, in season.
Forty Biskets, one Beaver skin, in season.
Ten Pound of Pork, one Beaver skin, in season.
Six Knives, one Beaver skin, in season.
Six Combes, one Beaver skin, in season.
Twenty Scaines Thread, one Beaver skin, in season.
One Hat, two Beaver skins, in season.
One Hat with Hatband, three Beaver skins, in season.
Two Pound of large Kettles, one Beaver skin, in season.
One Pound & half of small Kettles, one Beaver skin, in season.
One Shirt, one Beaver skin, in season.
Two Small Axes, one Beaver skin, in season.
Two Small Hoes, one Beaver skin, in season.
Three Dozen middling Hooks, one Beaver skin, in season.
One Sword Blade, one & half Beaver skin, in season.

What shall be accounted in Value equal to
one Beaver in season, Viz.:

One Otter skin in season, is one Beaver.
One Bear skin in season, is one Beaver.

Two Half skins in season, is one Beaver.
Four Pappcote skins in season, is one Beaver.
Two Foxes in season, is one Beaver.
Two Woodchocks in season, is one Beaver.
Four Martins in season, is one Beaver.
Eight Mincks in season, is one Beaver.
Five Pounds of Feathers, is one Beaver.
Four Raccoones in season, is one Beaver.
Four Seil skins, large, is one Beaver.
One Moose Hide, is two Beavers.
One Pound of Castorum, is one Beaver.

It is very interesting to peruse the original papers and orders of the General Court at this period, now kept in the State Archives and surprising to find how much petty detail regarding the beaver trade was taken up and discussed in the House of Representatives. The House appointed each Truckmaster, decided when it was wise to establish new trading posts, and even appointed certain men to build them. It approved and allowed the annual account of each Truckmaster and acted on all of their requests and complaints. Each year it appropriated money for stock for the Indian trade to be used through them.

In 1768 the General Court maintained 23 trading posts with Truckmasters at each station. An act of about that time stated that each Truckmaster was to be paid for his service such sum or sums from year to year as the Court should order, that a fine of £50 should be imposed for selling at higher than invoice or for falsifying accounts to the Government, that £25 should be the penalty for anyone other than a Truckmaster trading with the Indians, and "that the Truckmasters do supply the Indians with rum in moderate Quantities, as they shall in prudence judge convenient and necessary."[35] That their judgment was sometimes defective is evidenced by a letter from the Truckmaster for the post on St. George's River, complaining that the truckhouse was in bad condition and unsafe, because he says, "the Indians are sometimes intoxicated with rum when they come here."[36]

Certain Truckmasters, as might be expected, were unscrupulous in their dealings with the Indians. In one instance some Indians complained to the General Court that they had not received the proper price for their beaver skins from the Truck-

master on the St. Georges River. The Court ordered that a settlement be made of goods "pleasing and acceptable" to them, and shortly afterward appointed a new agent for that station.

It will be noted that this attempt at fair dealing was quite an improvement over some of the transactions mentioned of earlier date. The Truckmasters were compelled to sell goods at the price set in the invoice sent them from time to time by the Court. Where possible the goods for trade were carried in the Province Galley, as to the trading posts around Casco Bay, St. Georges, Kennebeck and Saco Rivers, while at inland posts as the Western Plantation for Trade, (est. 1659) located some 50 miles from Springfield, the goods had to be "packed" in.

The trade along the coast was continually expanding, for we find in 1766, one T. Andrew Worth of Nantucket was given a license to trade with the Indians on the Labrador coast.[37]

A study of the Colonial Treasurer's accounts[38] with the various Truckmasters year by year brings out some interesting facts. Various classifications of different grades of fur appear, such as Spring, Fall and Stage beaver, and (earlier) coat and skin beaver. It shows that castoreum was sold in large quantities, being used in medicine and bringing a good price. In 1737, Spring beaver brought 15s per pound and Fall beaver 13s. Then came a rise in four years to 20s for Spring beaver and 16s for Fall beaver. Nine years later the price had increased to 45s for Spring beaver and 30s for Fall beaver, and in 1751-2-3 the climax was reached at 50s per pound for Spring beaver and 30s for Fall.

About this time Canada was being opened up extensively and the great Hudson's Bay Company (incorporated in London in 1670) began to come into prominence. Owing to the geographical position of Canada, the quality of beaver fur taken there was of a higher grade than the more southern fur of New England, and furthermore, as that Company was selling at a lower price (7s to 9s per lb. in 1755) the greater part of the fur trade began to shift to Canada. Another reason for this shift was the growing scarcity of beaver in New England owing to the lack of laws for their protection or the restriction of trapping.

By 1764 very few beaver were being turned in to the Massa-

chusetts Treasury by the Truckmasters and the price had dropped from 50s for Spring beaver (in 1753) to 6s, 8d and from 30s to 4s for Fall beaver. From this time on, the beaver as an important factor in the trade of New England (except Maine) ceased to exist. Later, in the early forties of the last century, the introduction of silk and nutria in the manufacture of hats struck a deadly blow at the entire beaver trade of North America, which today is but a small fraction of what it once was.

The last act passed by the General Court of Massachusetts relating to the beaver trade, was in 1763.[39] This act provided: "That no person or persons other than Indians from and after the first day of May, 1764, shall hunt or take any beaver, sables or other furs to the Northward or Eastward of Saco truckhouse or the place where said truckhouse stood, except in the towns and plantations where they dwell, under penalty of 40 shillings for every such offence, to be recovered by complaint to a Justice of the Peace in manner aforesaid;" . . . Here was another attempt at fair dealing with the Indians by extending to them certain trading monopolies.

In spite of the fact that the living beaver has considerable economic value owing to the formation of meadow lands, and of water conservation resulting from its engineering feats, no law for its protection was ever passed in this state, with the result that its extermination was inevitable, no wild living beaver having been reported in Massachusetts for over 100 years.[40] Thus we find that this interesting animal, whose pelt served as the chief unit of exchange for nearly 200 years, has entirely disappeared from the life of this Commonwealth.

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33. Ibid. Pt. 1, p. 410.
34. State Archives, Trades, etc., Vol. 119, p. 214.
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40. I am indebted to Mr. G. M. Allen, of the Boston Society of Natural History for this information.
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Manufacturing in Sharon

By Lawrence Van Alstyne.

(Read before the Poconnuck Historical Society)

Part I

THERE is no manufacturing done in Sharon today; though within the memory of people yet living, there were several factories of considerable importance in the town.

A generation earlier there were many others, but events which could not be controlled, have wiped them out so completely, that only history and tradition remain to tell us they ever existed.

In the earlier days, everything necessary for the wants of the people was made in the town. Little manufacturing plants were scattered over the hills and in the valleys in nearly every part of the township. None of them were very large, and many of them were very small, but they supplied the wants of the people more completely, perhaps, than do the luxuries and conveniences that are now brought us from the outside, and which we have come to look upon as necessities. If anything is made in the town today, it is only the putting together of so many ready made parts, not one of which was made in Sharon. If, perchance, an article of genuine Sharon manufacture is found, it is immediately pounced upon by the Poconnuck Historical Society, and placed upon exhibition as a curiosity.

The first manufacturing done in Sharon, so far as I have been able to learn, was the making of wrought iron, at the place we best known as Benedict's Mill at the outlet of Mudge Pond, then called Skinner Pond. Here, one Joseph Skinner, established himself about the time the settlement of the town began. In 1743,

he sold his Forge, tools and stock of iron ore, to Jonathan and Samuel Dunham, of Sharon, Thomas North, of Wethersfield, and Jonathan Fairbanks, of Middleton. It is supposed they continued the business, perhaps on a larger scale, but little mention is made of it in the history of the town.

The iron was made direct from the ore, there being no pig iron made in the town, if indeed any was made in the state at that time. This method of making iron is of very ancient origin, being traced back to the time of Tubal Cain, in the seventh generation from Adam. Improved appliances for producing the same result have been added from time to time, but the process is substantially the same as when Tubal Cain dug a hole in the ground, filled it with alternate layers of charcoal and iron ore, and roasted them together until the particles of ore adhered to each other and became a bloom. "Blume," as the Germans have it, the metallic product being thus designated as the flower of the ore. Hence the name, "Bloomaries," as these furnaces are generally called. Later improvements have greatly increased the quantity of iron produced in a given time, and for a given cost, but the quality of iron made by this primitive method, has never been improved upon.

Steel is made in much the same way, the main difference being that a portion of the carbon, present in all raw iron, is left, instead of being burned out as in the making of wrought iron. It also requires more hammering to give it the proper density, than iron does. I find no mention of steel making in Sharon, though doubtless enough was made for the needs of the community. The refuse products of the Joseph Skinner Forge are frequently found in digging about the mill which stands upon, or very near the site the forge occupied.

Another forge was on a stream running out from a pond on the farm now occupied by George Hamlin. I have not been able to find out who owned or operated it, but several old residents agree in saying there was a forge there.

Another was on the stream running through "Hutchinson's Hollow," and not far from the residence of Watson Hall. Sedgwick's history of Sharon says Nathan Beard carried it on for many years. Hiram Weed, Capt. Weed as we best knew him, is

said to have been the last one to make iron there. So far as I can learn these were the only places where wrought iron was made in the town of Sharon.

The Blast Furnace in Sharon Valley, is supposed to have been the first of the kind in Sharon. Samuel Roberts, now of Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., says his grandfather, Lyman Bradley, owned and ran it in 1825, and he thinks he was the builder of it. It has had several owners since, the last being "The Sharon Valley Iron Company." Its ruins are still standing to remind us of the time when Sharon Valley was the most industrious portion of the town. It was a "Cold Blast Furnace," the Hot Blast being comparatively a recent invention, of which I may speak a little later. Iron making has always interested me, and I may be excused if I venture to tell what observation reading has taught me about it.

The Stack, a huge body of stone work, bound together in the strongest manner, with iron bolts and bars, reached from the lowest foundation to the level of the "Top House" floor. Inside of this was a large egg shaped cavity, the upper end being about three feet across. Like an egg, its walls expanded until at a point about two-thirds the way down they were again contracted, until the top of the hearth was reached. The whole was carefully lined with fire brick. The slant or slope coming down to and connecting with the hearth was called the "Bosh," and the slant of the bosh had much to do with the working of the furnace, some kinds of ore melting easier and faster than others, and consequently requiring a different slant of bosh to make them feed down properly. As many kinds of ore were used, the skill of the founder was taxed to keep the furnace working satisfactorily. The mysteries that attend the manufacture of pig iron have never all been explained, but many of them have been traced to the improper slope of the bosh, for the kind of ore then being used.

If a certain grade of iron was ordered, the founder regulated his charges of ore, charcoal and lime stone, accordingly, but he was never sure the grade he was striving to make would appear when the casting was made.

The Hearth, the place where the melted iron collected at the

bottom of all; started from a fire stone foundation of a foot or more in thickness, large enough to receive the entire body of the hearth and to project some distance in front of it. The hearth was circular in shape and perhaps a yard in diameter. An opening was left in front which was finally bridged over by a large stone which the furnacemen called the Tymp. In front of the tymp, and at a short distance from it another stone was placed, its top about even with the bottom of the tymp stone. This was the dam stone, so called because it held back the molten metal and the slag, or cinder which floated on it, until the hearth was full, when the latter ran over the top and out upon the casting house floor. This was an indication that casting time was near at hand.

Before casting, the pig bed must be made up. This was done by laying upon the casting room floor, patterns representing the sow and pigs. The sow pattern was laid straight out from the dam stone, with the pig patterns lying endwise against its side. Around these patterns, sand was closely packed, and struck off even with their tops. Against the side of several of the pig patterns were laid blocks of iron called chills. Then the patterns were removed leaving their exact imprint in the sand in which they had been imbedded. A hole in the bottom of the dam stone, which had been stopped with clay, was now opened, and the iron flowed out filling the channels; and the casting was over.

As soon as the iron had cooled enough to keep its shape, the sow was broken into pieces convenient for handling, and the pigs were broken loose from the sow. When cool enough to remove, the iron was taken out, and the chilled pigs broken through. It was then, and not before, that the grade of iron just made was known. If the chilled pig was white, the iron was marked number six. If white, with mottles of gray showing in it, it was marked number five. If gray, but with white mottles, it was marked number four and a half. If entirely gray, but with a very fine close grain, it was number four.

The lower numbers were judged by the fineness or coarseness of the grain, number one being the coarsest and softest iron made. Number six iron was not a profitable grade to make,

and it was often taken to the top house and thrown in the furnace to be remelted, when it was changed into any grade the furnace was at that time making. The working of the furnace had all to do with the character of the iron made, as all the different grades known to the trade are made from the same kinds of ore.

Blast furnaces are usually built upon the slope of a hill, so teams bringing in the stock can be driven directly on the top house floor, unloading the ore from the different mines into separate piles to be mixed according to the founder's directions. The founder had the direction and control of everything about the furnace. He was on duty at all times, and slept within easy call. His directions were final, and must be obeyed. Any one in his employ who disobeyed or disregarded his orders, did not as a rule stay long. The ore was carefully weighed, so much of this kind and so much of that. The charcoal, which was kept under sheds at a convenient distance, was measured into carts holding about thirty bushels each, each cartload constituting one charge. When one charge had settled far enough to receive another it was put in, and so the work went on, night and day, week days and Sundays, for perhaps a year or more, or until some part of the works burned out or gave out and made a stop unavoidable. The Blast, which is forced into the hearth, came from the power house where powerful air pumps forced it into the wind chest, from which it was carried in pipes direct into the furnace. The wind chest, was a large upright cylinder, with a piston working up and down in it according to the pressure from the pumps, the pressure of the wind going into the furnace being regulated by weighing down the head of the piston in the wind chest.

So far this description refers to making cold blast iron, and the only difference between that and the hot blast method that I am able to state, is, that in the hot blast method the blast is heated before passing into the furnace. This is done by forcing the flaming gases through an oven before passing up and out of the chimney top. Through this oven the air pipes were led, and the air in them heated to such a degree that it was almost at the melting point of iron when it entered the hearth. Very lit-

tle cold blast iron is made now, on account of the greater expense though for some purposes it is much more desirable. Except for the expense of building the hot blast oven, and the high grade iron pipes which are needed to carry the air through it, I know of no difference in the cost of making iron by the two methods named. But the hot blast doubles the output and possibly trebles it, and consequently very little cold blast iron is now made.

The only other blast furnace in town, was the Capt. Weed furnace at Calkinstown. I think it was only operated for a short time. It was of the cold blast kind and stood about where Mr. Tiedeman's stable now stands. It used the water from Beardsley Pond, and from the little stream crossing the road near Henry Smith's Blacksmith's shop. Beardsley Pond was made double its present capacity by a dam at its outlet, the remains of which still show. Mr. Weed collected the water in a pond on the east side of the road leading north from the Sharon Hospital, and passed it under a bridge across the road onto a wheel on the opposite side. As the supply was not very abundant it was made to pass over another wheel farther down the stream, thus making it do double duty, blowing from each way into a wind chest at the furnace, and from it, into the hearth.

Mr. Weed did not believe it right to make iron, or to do any other work on Sunday, so he banked his fires late on Saturday night and started them up as soon as Monday appeared. In the mean time the furnace became chilled, the stock hung up, and it was often the middle of the week before he could get going again. I do not know whether he gave up the making of iron rather than break the Sabbath in doing it, but he did not continue long in the business. The old furnace was standing fifty years ago, but it was dismantled some time before that.

(*To be Continued*)

MAJOR DAVID H. MILLER,
23d Connecticut Volunteers. In Grand Army of the Republic Uniform

Recollections of a Half Century and More

By Andrew M. Sherman, Morristown, N. J.

VIII

From Boyhood to Young Manhood—
Recollections of the Civil War.

(*Continued*)

WHILE Company F was encamped at Boutte Station one of the members of our company and I were permitted to visit Brashear City, and the pass given to us by the captain of the company I now have among my souvenirs; it reads as follows:

"Boutte Station, O. G. W. R. R.,
"La., May 24th, 1863.

"Pass
"Mr. John Woodruff and Andrew Sherman from Boutte Station to Brashear City and return on the 26th.

"D. T. Johnson,
"Capt. of Comp. F, 23d Regt.,
"& Dept. P. M."

I have also among my Civil War souvenirs two letters written home from Boutte Station; one is dated May 6, 1863, and the other is dated May 22, 1863. It is needless for me to remark that I prize these letters very highly; not alone for the interesting data they contain, but for the host of pleasant memories they revive—memories of a period of my life when the words of the poet following were marvelously true:

"Hope with a goodly prospect feeds the eye,
Shows from a rising ground possessions nigh,
Shortens the distance or o'erlooks it quite,
So easy 'tis to travel with the sight."

In the latter part of May, 1863, orders came to our company to prepare at once for removal to Brashear City; and at 12 o'clock on one Monday we boarded the cars; and at about 5 o'clock on the evening of the same day we were at our destination. In a few hours our tents were pitched and our regimental camp was once more arranged.

The bulk of General Banks' troops were laying siege to Port Hudson; and in their absence General "Dick" Taylor, a son of ex-President "Zack" Taylor, by the way, resolved to drive from western Louisiana the Union soldiers left there chiefly for guard duty. A small Union force was, therefore, concentrated at Brashear City to meet General Taylor, including a battery from Rhode Island; Colonel Holmes, of our regiment, was placed in command of the troops at that point. Three companies of our regiment were advantageously posted along the line of the railroad leading from the east into Brashear City. It was expected, however, that the principal resistance to the Confederates would be made at Brashear City.

On the 1st of June, 1863, the Confederates attacked with a small force the hospital at Berwick City, another settlement with a high-sounding name, on the opposite side of a bay—Berwick Bay—about an eighth of a mile in width, which separates Brashear City from Berwick City. Company K of our regiment instantly embarked on a small steamer lying at the village wharf and was soon followed by Companies G, I, and C. This force, in command of Captain Crofut, of Company G, advanced rapidly and drove off the Confederates on the double-quick, afterward covering those who were engaged in removing the Union sick and wounded and the government property.

Colonel Holmes was soon prostrated with sickness and was not again able to perform the duties of an officer.

On the 1st of June, 1863, he resigned and returned to his home in Waterbury, Connecticut.*

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*After the close of the Civil War Colonel Holmes joined the Post of the Grand Army of the Republic in his native city.

On the 28th of April, 1884, Colonel Holmes died of Bright's disease. A sketch of his life may be found in a volume in the Bronson Library, Waterbury, Connecticut, entitled: "The Town and City of Waterbury, Connecticut," compiled by the Rev. Joseph Anderson, D. D., and published by the Price and Lee Company, in 1896.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wordin being ill the command of the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteers then devolved upon Major David H. Miller, of the regiment mentioned.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wordin was unable to perform the duties of his office during the remainder of his term of enlistment. He returned to Connecticut with the regiment and was mustered out of the service on the 31st of August, 1863.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Stickney of a Massachusetts regiment assumed the command of the Union forces at Brashear City.

Under the severe discipline of Lieutenant-Colonel Stickney our regiment knew no rest.

Despite the warning given to the commanding officer, by Major Miller, that "Colonel Stickney, you are killing the men of my regiment!" the men at Brashear City were kept moving every day and lay upon their arms almost every night, and the result was that in ten days half the entire number of soldiers at Brashear City were on the sick list.

On the 3d of June our company received orders to fall into line with guns and accountrements. Because of the impaired physical condition of many of the men, Lieutenant Middlebrooks, who was in command of Company F—the captain being at the time provost marshal of Brashear City,—announced that anyone who did not feel able to march could remain in camp; and some four or five fell out of the ranks. We then, in command of Lieutenant Middlebrooks, marched to the wharf in the village, where we took a small steamer across Berwick Bay to Berwick City. Companies H and K soon followed us across the bay.

Our forces further up the country had captured a few days previously a large number of horses and cattle and they had been driven down to Berwick City for safekeeping. It having been

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The army sword of Colonel Holmes is now the property of Mr. George Holmes Edwards, son of Mrs. C. H. Edwards, sister of Colonel Holmes, of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

*On the 26th of February, 1885, Lieutenant-Colonel Wordin died of rheumatism and heart trouble in Hartford, Connecticut. His army sword, so the author is informed, was stolen.

The widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Wordin is now residing in Hartford, Connecticut. She informs the author that her husband always spoke well of the regiment with which he was identified in the Civil War.

reported that the Confederates purposed attempting their recapture we were sent across to foil the attempt.

Soon after crossing we saw at some distance above Berwick City the Confederate force drawn up in line of battle, apparently awaiting attack from us. For some reason, perhaps the fear of our artillery on the Brashear City side, the Confederates did not attack us; and as the Union force was, as I remember it, much smaller than that of the enemy, our commanding officer deemed it the better part of valor not to bring on an engagement. So we contented ourselves with guarding the horses and cattle and preventing their recapture by the needy Confederates. This we did by gathering them at the lower end of the village under cover of our guns on the Brashear City side.

Among the incidents of the day in Berwick City were the following: One of our men who ventured too near the Confederate lines had a horse shot from under him; and several negroes who had accompanied the Union forces across the bay were killed by the enemy. The Confederates cherished a special dislike for negroes in any way affiliated with Yankee soldiers.

During our stay in Berwick City I procured a bridle, captured a horse and road bareback to my heart's content. In capturing the horse I unknowingly strayed upon the Confederate picket line; and, having left my musket with one of my comrades, and being, therefore, in a defenseless condition, I had a narrow escape from capture. Some of the boys who had watched me said afterwards they thought I was "a goner."

Peter Hughes—"Bishop Hughes," we used to call him—a jolly son of the Emerald Isle, who belonged to my company, wishing to have, as he expressed it, "a little fun," tied a red handkerchief to the end of his bayonet and audaciously waved it in the face of a big steer; whereupon the steer became infuriated and ran toward Hughes with evidently murderous intent. At all events, Hughes took to his heels and barely escaped being gored to death by his four-legged pursuer. Hughes was thoroughly frightened. In subsequently relating the incident to the boys in camp he invariably concluded with: "Och! begorra! but Oi'll niver flag a cow agin!" and I don't believe he ever did.

It was this same comrade—Peter Hughes—who expressed himself so emphatically with regard to the quinine with which he was dosed in the hospital whither he had been taken for some illness. The quinine must have been given him in large doses, with the usual ringing sensation in the head; and it may have produced other unpleasant sensations, for after his return to the company his displeasure found vigorous expression in the words: "D—n the kenan! D—n the kenan!"

One of the characteristics of Comrade Hughes which clings like a thistle to my memory was his inability to keep step in marching; with the inevitable consequence that the comrade in front of him was not infrequently obliged to sing out: "Keep off my heels, will ye!"

I have in my possession a letter written home containing a statement of many of the circumstances of the expedition across Berwick Bay of which I have been speaking. This letter was written from "Brashear City, June 4, 1863, eighty-six miles west of New Orleans."

This letter was written on a sheet of paper containing one of the patriotic embellishments so common in "the sixties."

About the middle of June, 1863, Lieutenant-Colonel Stickney, having been informed that Confederates were coming down the Bayou La Fourche from the Plaquemine district took all the men he thought could be spared from Brashear City and moved down to La Fourche Crossing, about thirty miles to the eastward, toward New Orleans. Companies B and E of our regiment were already at La Fourche Crossing.

When our company was drawn up in line preparatory to starting for La Fourche Crossing I fell in with the rest of the boys. Our commanding officer, Lieutenant Middlebrooks, upon seeing me in the ranks said: "Andrew, you can't go; you're not able;" and notwithstanding my reiterated wish to accompany the boys I was not permitted to go to La Fourche Crossing.

The fact is, I was just out of the local hospital and was very much reduced in strength from the disease so prevalent among the boys in the lowlands of Louisiana. So I remained at Brashear City; with what result, we shall see.

Soon after the arrival of the reinforcements taken by Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Stickney to LaFourche Crossing the Union force there was attacked by the Confederate cavalry; but the enemy were repulsed after a sharp engagement.

At about eight o'clock on the evening of June 21st the Confederate infantry and artillery in command of General "Dick" Taylor attacked our forces at La Fourche Crossing, the latter of whom were behind breastworks thrown up for the occasion. The Union forces were supported by several pieces of light artillery planted just inside the breastworks. The Confederates, full of whiskey and gunpowder—as was ascertained by an examination of their canteens left on the battlefield in front of the Union breastworks—which made them utterly regardless of life, came up to the very mouths of our cannon during the engagement and, placing their hands upon them, demanded their surrender. The audacious Confederates were either shot down or bayoneted where they stood.

The engagement at LaFourche Crossing, which lasted about thirty minutes, was a hot one, and demonstrated the fact that Connecticut nine months' troops could fight with honor to their state and country.

I have been told by comrades who took part in the fight at La Fourche Crossing that on the following morning the Confederate dead and wounded were found in windrows on the field in front of our breastworks.

Our loss was comparatively small, owing, doubtless, to the fact that the Union troops were behind breastworks; but among the killed and wounded were some of the flower of the regiment.

Company F did not escape.

The comparative numerical weakness of the Union force forbade a pursuit of the enemy.

On the 22d of June the Confederates sent into our lines a flag of truce; and over a hundred of their dead and wounded were delivered up to them. We captured about fifty prisoners.

Of the engagement at La Fourche Crossing we at Brashear City did not, of course, learn until some time afterward.

On the 23d of June Lieutenant-Colonel Stickney, in pursuance of orders from headquarters, fell back with the forces under his immediate command, including the bulk of the Twenty-third Connecticut, on New Orleans, thus uncovering Brashear City.

The Twenty-third Connecticut were encamped in New Orleans until June 26th when they were ordered to Camp Fair, Metaire Racecourse.

Let us now return to Brashear City.

At about five o'clock on the morning of June 23d the Confederates began throwing shell from Berwick City across the intervening bay into Brashear City; but every shell went clear over our regimental camp and, so far as I am now able to recall, exploded in an open field in the rear without injury to men or camp. In retrospect those were most significant facts.

It was great sport, as I distinctly recollect, for the boys, few of whom had ever witnessed such a sight, to watch the shells in their encircling aerial flight across the bay, and as they exploded in our rear.

This almost incessant shelling, which was kept up for two hours or more, was evidently, as we learned when it was too late to profit by the knowledge, done to divert the attention of the Union troops in Brashear City; for during all this time a Confederate force was marching by a circuitous and extremely difficult route to attack us in the rear.* To reach our rear the enemy had to get through a dense swamp which had been considered impassable by the Union troops. This probably accounts for the fact that no Union pickets had been placed at that point, and the alert enemy, taking advantage of our neglect, got into our rear "as slick as a pin."

Major R. C. Anthony, of the Second Rhode Island Cavalry, seems to have been in command at Brashear City on that fateful June morning in 1863.

At about eight o'clock on the morning mentioned the Confederates, consisting of about eight hundred men, mostly Texans, with a yell that made one's hair stand on end "like quills upon the fretful porcupine" came rushing in from a piece of woods just back of the village upon a thoroughly surprised Union camp.

We had not to exceed one hundred and fifty effective men at

*From the "History of the Forty-Second Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers," by Sergeant-Major Charles P. Bosson, of Boston, the following extract is taken:

"The Confederates, under Major Hunter, started at six P. M. on the twenty-second"—1863—"in forty eight skiffs and flats, from the mouth of the Teche, up the Atchafalaya into Grand Lake, where oars were muffled, and then a pull of about eight hours landed them in the rear of Brashear City."

Brashear City and of those only about fifty were formed in battle line in one of our company streets, the remainder being scattered about the village, some having been firing from behind rude breastworks on the shore of the bay into Berwick City. Others had been loitering about the village at different points—and all totally unprepared for attack.

The few men of the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteers, under the command of two of our regimental captains—Jenkins and Crofut—after making a brief but heroic stand against the overwhelming Confederate force, were compelled to surrender.

I do not hesitate to declare that the pluck exhibited by those fifty men and their officers was of the highest character.

As the Confederates moved down toward the lower part of the village they encountered some resistance from isolated squads of Union soldiers; and in several instances individual Union soldiers stood and fired at the oncoming Confederates.

For example: While facing, in the vicinity of the local hospital, on the shore of Berwick Bay, and heroically fighting two or three Confederate soldiers, Thomas C. Cornell, of Company D, fell, shot in the forehead. Later in the day I saw the lifeless body of Comrade Cornell lying where he had fallen.

A member of Company F, Samuel Oulds, about eighteen years of age, a special chum of mine, who had just been discharged from the local hospital, was wounded in the arm while fighting single-handed, in Indian fashion, from behind a tree, as the Confederates came into the village from the field in the rear of our camp.

Comrade Oulds' arm was afterward amputated, in consequence of which he died seventeen days later, and his body now lies in southern soil. He was as brave a soldier as ever wore the Union blue. Memorial Day never comes round but this Comrade is uppermost in my thought.

I was at a considerable distance from our regimental camp when the Confederates came rushing into Brashear City with their unearthly yell. With others—I distinctly recollect "Sammy" Oulds of my company as having been one of them—I had been down on the shore of Berwick Bay, behind the rude earthworks there constructed, firing across the bay at Confederates

who had climbed on the house tops, evidently for the purpose of watching the movements of the Union troops on the Brashear City side. Among those on the housetops, as we subsequently learned, was one General Green. Our firing across the bay was not altogether ineffective for I saw several heads duck under after the discharge of our muskets, among them that of General Green, as I was informed by a Confederate soldier after the fight at Brashear City.

When I first saw the Confederates they were rushing in squads of fifteen or twenty men through the streets of the village yelling and firing as they came. I was then entirely separated from my company comrades, and the few Union soldiers who were in sight were unknown to me. With a few of these unknown soldiers I started for the lower part of the village, our objective being, so far as I can now recall, the big frame building on the shore of Berwick Bay. Here we could join a squad of the Forty-second Massachusetts regiment which had been performing special guard duty there.

It was while on our way to this building that, for the first time in my army life, I saw a Union soldier wounded. I shall never forget the scene! This soldier was hit somewhere in the lower part of the body. With a shriek that I can now almost hear he clapped both hands over his abdomen, bending nearly double as he did so. I was impressed that the wound would prove fatal.*

The bullets were now flying all about me; they seemed to be coming from two or three directions, and it verily seemed as if every bullet was aimed at me and that each particular bullet would hit me.

This feeling, however, gradually wore off. Still, I prefer being in my own home to facing Confederate bullets, as they flew about me with their "zip," "zip," "zip," on that June day more than fifty years ago.

Instead of going into the big building for which, with others,

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*The name of this Union soldier as the author ascertained about forty-seven years after the occurrence above mentioned was private William E. Cook, twenty years of age; he belonged to Co. B, Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Young Cook died on the same day he was wounded. He enlisted from Medway, Massachusets, of which he was a native.

I had started, I ran down the railroad track a short distance and climbed into an open freight car standing on the track.

From this car I fired for a few minutes at the onrushing Confederates.

It was a strange sight to see the enemy rushing furiously around the corners of the adjacent buildings, yelling as they came. Each one seemed to "mean business."

The car into which I had climbed had been fitted up with wooden railroad sleepers on the sides and ends for reconnoitering purposes along the line of the railroad. These sleepers formed an excellent protection. In the car when I reached it were a few Union soldiers and also a few colored men. I do not recollect whether these colored men were armed or not, but I do distinctly recollect that the Confederate fire was soon concentrated on this car; the bullets fairly rained against the side nearest the upper part of the village—evidently because of the presence of the colored men. Tumbling at length to this fact I concluded it would be the better part of valor for me to change my base, which I did by slipping from the back side of the car and falling into line with the squad of Massachusetts soldiers which had just emerged from the big building where they had been performing guard duty.

To have remained in that freight car five minutes longer would have been certain and brutal death to a white soldier; of that I was satisfied.

As the squad of Massachusetts soldiers were marching parallel to and on the back side of the train of freight cars on the track, and as the sergeant in command, a large, fine-looking fellow, was passing the opening between two of the cars, a Confederate bullet hit his left arm.*

The squad of Massachusetts men, of which there may have been about forty, stood for a few minutes after coming out from

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*It was First-Sergeant George W. Ballou, of Company B, of the Forty-second Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, who was wounded as described above. On the departure of the captured Union prisoners for Algiers he was left at Brashear City. Sergeant Ballou recovered from his wound and returned home.

The information concerning private Cook and sergeant Ballou I obtained from "History of the Forty-second Regiment, Mass. Vols., 1862-63-64," written by Sergeant-Major Charles P. Bosson, which volume was presented to the author of these "Recollections" by Comrade Bosson, August 5, 1911.

behind the freight cars and fired at the Confederates; but they were soon overwhelmed and we scattered to places of safety; each one looking out for himself.

I had fired all my ammunition and, seeing that it was all up with us, I threw my musket and empty cartridge box into a deep ditch just above the railroad track and started toward camp.

I was soon accosted by a Confederate major who personally demanded my surrender; and as this seemed the only sensible thing to do under the circumstances I readily acceded to the demand.

Seeing that I was without a musket the Confederate officer inquired of me what had become of it; and upon being informed that I had thrown it into the water he manifested his appreciation of my thoughtfulness for Uncle Sam by a broad, good-natured smile.

As near as I can recollect it was about eleven o'clock in the day when the firing in the village ceased and the Confederates took possession; it may not, however, have been later than about ten o'clock.

The Hon. Lawrence Van Alstyne, of Sharon, Connecticut, was a member, during the Civil War, of Company B, of the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth New York Volunteer Infantry. Sometime in 1863 he became a commissioned officer in Company D, of the Ninetieth United States Colored Infantry. In his unusually interesting book entitled: "Diary of an Enlisted Man," he writes, under date of September 24, 1863, while at Brashear City, Louisiana, as follows: "Brashear City is a small place on Berwick Bay. . . . There is a store and restaurant, and some large empty buildings that I suppose were used for storehouses. We came here by way of the Opelousas and Great Western R. R., which begins at Algiers opposite New Orleans, and ends here at Brashear City. This is the R. R. that the Twenty-third Connecticut were guarding when the Rebels captured them last June. A part of them were here as well as some other troops. *The restaurant keeper told me of the capture, and showed me the bullet marks on his shop to prove they did not give up without a fight.* He says the bravest fight of any was made by a New York man, whose grave he showed me near his shop."

At about twelve o'clock the Union soldiers were marched up to a spot where the Rhode Island battery had been stationed. Here, the Confederates gave us a few pounds of wheat flour; and this, so far as I observed, was the only food they gave us while we were in their hands, notwithstanding they had captured enough hardtack, salt-horse and other rations to supply an army for several weeks.

Of the flour dealt out to us by the enemy we made what were termed "flapjacks," which I assure you were greatly enjoyed by hungry Union soldiers. The "flapjacks" were supplemented by a small quantity of coffee and sugar which we were fortunate enough to have in our haversacks.

As for our knapsacks, the Confederates had captured them, and, indeed, everything else belonging to us except what we had on our backs. In my knapsack I had several letters which I had found in the garret of General "Dick" Taylor's house near the Mississippi River; some choice shells picked up on Ship Island. There must, also, have been other articles in my knapsack left in my tent, including, probably, a few love letters. Besides my extra clothing, there were in my tent several orange-wood sticks for canes which I had intended to bring home. I have often wondered what became of these articles captured by the Confederates on that June morning, in 1863.

From "The Twenty-third Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion," I quote the following: "The enemy, after the repulse at La Fourche, retreated down the railroad to Brashear, capturing small detachments guarding the different stations. Captain Julius Sanford, Company C, at Bayou Boeuf, finding it impossible to hold the place, fired the large sugar house in which was stored a large quantity of officers' baggage and regimental stores belonging to the troops engaged before Port Hudson to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy."

On the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of June the Union soldiers captured at Brashear City and at Bayou Boeuf were paroled. I have among my souvenirs of the Civil War a duplicate of my parole. I prize it very highly. It reads as follows:

"Headquarters C. S. Forces, South of Red River.
"Brashear City, La., June 25th, 1863.

"I, Private A. M. Sherman, Co. F. 23d Regt. C. Vols., do solemnly swear and pledge this, my Parole of Honor, that I will not take up arms against the Confederate States, or their allies, nor in any manner whatsoever aid, assist, or abet the Government of the United States, during the exisiting war, until regularly and duly exchanged.

"A. M. Sherman.

"Attest: A. J. Watt, A. D. C.,
"C. S. A."

Across this parole duplicate are written the words: "Attest, R. C. Anthony, Maj. U. S. A., Cmdg. " in the major's handwriting.

The parole also bears the signature of the Confederate aide-de-camp, as well as my own.

The commissioned officers captured at Brashear City and at Bayou Boeuf were taken to Tyler, Texas, where they were kept as prisoners of war until July, 1864, a period of thirteen months.

It was to me a sad sight to see the officers—especially those of our own regiment—turn toward Texas and a Confederate prison; but they deported themselves like men. The scene of the parting of the officers and privates on this occasion is ineffaceably impressed upon my memory. Of the faces of our regimental officers about to start for Texas those of Captain Hopkins and Lieutenant Hurlburt—"Charlie" Hurlburt, as he was called when off duty—alone linger in my visual memory.

At the end of three days the captured Union soldiers started, under Confederate guard, for the Union lines, then at Algiers. When I tell the readers of *Americana* that fully eight-tenths of the Union prisoners were convalescents but recently discharged from the hospital at Brashear City they will not be surprised to hear that we were seven days in marching a distance of about one hundred miles; and that on that march, so enfeebled were most of the boys from recent illness, that the line was several miles in length.

So far as I was able to observe, the Confederate guard were very considerate in their treatment of their prisoners; which is accounted for, as I have always thought, by the fact that the

guard was composed of Texans, whose ancestors were from the North and West.

I conversed very freely with several Confederate officers on the march toward the Union lines, about the war, its causes, its progress and its probable outcome. One officer, in particular, seemed to enjoy the boyish enthusiasm with which I conducted my side of the discussion.

Many incidents of great interest occurred on our march; of these I can now relate only a few:

For at least one-half the distance from Brashear City to Algiers we marched on the railroad, the general course of which was east and west. With the southern sun beating directly down upon us, and with dense forest on either side of the track, which shut out any air that may have been stirring, the heat on those June days was almost unbearable to men so recently out of the hospital.

I recall that on one afternoon during the march on the railroad I became so thoroughly exhausted from the heat and fatigue that, staggering down the embankment and finding a comparatively dry spot, I lay down, with the feeling that I should not rise again; indeed, I did not care whether I ever rose again or not. I fell asleep. After an hour or more I was awakened by the Confederate rear guard, and, very much refreshed from my sleep, I resumed the march toward the Union lines.

On either side of the railroad on which we marched it was decidedly swampy, and there was an abundance of stagnant water covered with a thick, green scum. This water the boys were sometimes obliged to drink to relieve their extreme thirst. Kneeling down on the ground we would push aside the ofttimes heavy scum and drink water, every mouthful of which contained poisonous matter.

Alligators were numerous all along the railroad and some were of such dimensions that we did not care, in our defenseless condition, to disturb them—I say defenseless condition, for we were, of course, without muskets or other fire arms.

My chum during most of the march was "Pep" Short, a member of my company. On the march the Confederates did not give us one morsel of food to eat; hence it was forage or go

hungry, and the latter we were positively disinclined to do. We had brought a little coffee and sugar with us from Brashear City, and occasionally stopping by the way we would build a little fire and boil some coffee in the familiar and indispensable tin can. A few ears of sweet corn plucked from an adjacent field and roasted over our coffee fire were considered a great treat by two hungry Union soldiers. That we had good teeth for eating sweet corn "off the cob" goes without saying.

As for blankets neither "Pep" nor I had one; henceforth the Confederates would sleep under our gray blankets. I recall that on one night in particular our only coverings were the railings of the rude southern fence under which we bunked. The bare ground was, of course, our only bed. These things I mention not as examples of the hardships we endured but because of the ludicrous aspect of these incidents as I now look back on them from the standpoint of present comforts.

Tired from the long day's march and almost famished after a prolonged fast my chum and I came one evening to a plantation which had been abandoned by everyone save a few negroes. Entering a hut we requested the occupants, a somewhat aged negro couple, to furnish us with some hoecake and sweet potatoes, which they willingly consented to do.

The potatoes were baked in the ashes of the big fireplace and the hoecake was cooked in the typical southern iron frying pan. That late supper, so far as our relish of it was concerned, could not be surpassed by the best course dinner ever served at Delmonico's.

In payment for that appetizing plantation supper I gave the negroes a five-dollar Confederate bill which I had been sacredly keeping to bring home as a souvenir, and I received as change a two-dollar Confederate bill. This two-dollar bill I brought home and it was for several years among my modest collection of Civil War souvenirs. Inasmuch as the Confederates were so soon to reoccupy that portion of the state their money was readily accepted by the kindhearted negroes who fed us.

On reaching Boutte Station my chum and I struck off into the country about half a mile, our objective being a house which we had frequently visited during our four months sojourn at

that place. The family, we discovered on reaching the house, were all gone and the doors were all fastened.

We were two hungry soldiers; we knew this family during our stay at Boutte Station to have been in sympathy with the southern cause, hence any scruples we may have had were easily overcome. We broke open one of the doors and entered and ransacked the house from cellar to garret in the hope of finding something to eat. All we found were two or three loaves of dry bread covered with green mold; we were not hungry enough to eat such rations. Continuing our search we came across an old wooden chest, painted red. It took us but a few moments to go through that chest; and our search was rewarded by the discovery of what, upon due examination, proved to be two bottles of good whiskey. "Pep" Short confiscated one bottle, and, more for the mischief of it than otherwise, I appropriatel the other bottle. We then resumed the march toward the Union lines.

Although I was not addicted to the use of strong drink in any form while in the army, I did, after our arrival at Algiers, use some of the confiscated Confederate whiskey; sharing it, however, with my old tent chum, Comrade John Woodruff, whom I had not seen since the morning the bulk of Company F and the regiment went to La Fourche Crossing where they helped to whip the Confederates so nicely. The bottle I brought home and it was in use several years before it was accidentally broken.

Prior to the arrival of the Paroled Union prisoners at Algiers Captain Lawrence O'Brien, of the Ninth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, the Irish regiment of the "Nutmeg State," had been Provost Marshal and Provost Judge of the St. James Parish which included Algiers.

In accordance with orders from Department Headquarters at New Orleans Captain O'Brien took charge of the paroled Union prisoners as they arrived at Algiers. These prisoners were quartered in an old abandoned iron foundry, which was far from being a fashionable hotel.

In order to make out a list of the paroled prisoners in his charge to forward to Department Headquarters Captain O'Brien

had several of the prisoners detailed to perform clerical duty, among them the author of these articles.

Through the courtesy of Captain O'Brien the author has portions of duplicate lists of the paroled prisoners as made by me and other clerks in Algiers in 1863. I have also several original military orders received by Captain O'Brien during his service as Provost Marshal and Provost Judge of the St. James Parish, which I prize highly as interesting souvenirs of the Civil War.

After the close of the Civil War Captain O'Brien and the author drifted apart, and "found each other" only about six years ago, since which time they have been together on several occasions of more than ordinary interest. Once during the six years past the beloved captain has visited the author at his home in Morristown; and during his visit he attended the weekly meeting of the Post of the Grand Army of the Republic of which the author was then Commander. At this meeting Captain O'Brien made an address in which he referred to the fact of my having performed clerical duty for him at Algiers in 1863. He also related some of his experiences in Ireland in connection with the endeavor, soon after the close of the Civil War, to liberate his native country from English rule. Of his arrest and trial for high treason and of his conviction and sentence to confinement in the famous Clonmel Prison and his escape therefrom after a confinement of about a year he spoke especially. His address was greatly enjoyed by the members of the Post visited.

In response to a recent request to give the author of these articles his reason for having him detailed for clerical duty at Algiers Captain O'Brien wrote the following letter:

"Dear Comrade:—

"While I was Provost Marshal and Provost Judge of the St. James Parish General Banks was besieging Port Hudson early in June, 1863. General Richard Taylor with an army of 7000 Confederates made a raid into Louisiana. He captured all the small United States army posts guarding the railroad. The commissioned officers were sent to prison in Texas while the

enlisted men were paroled and allowed to go to New Orleans. General Banks ordered them to be kept in Algiers. The Provost Marshal General sent me to take charge of them. There were over 2000 of these prisoners, most every regiment in the Gulf Department being represented. Your regiment, the 23d Connecticut, which had been guarding the railroad for a distance of 130 miles along the line, were nearly all captured. When you arrived at Algiers I selected you out of all that reported to me as the most compentent to perform clerical duty in making out the roll of prisoners so I could report to Department Headquarters and draw rations for them as they arrived.

"When the men whose term of enlistment expired I was ordered by General Banks to take them to Ship Island to remain until they could be sent North.

"When I came back to New Orleans from Ship Island and reported to the Commanding General he was well pleased and ordered me to act as one of a commission to investigate the treatment of Union soldiers confined in the Parish Prison in New Orleans. This commission was composed of five commissioned officers—3 colonels, 1 lieutenant (Coe) and myself, a captain. We found, upon investigation, that the judge of the court was in league with the enemy. The police of the city would arrest a Union soldier and the judge would sentence the soldier to the Parish Prison; and when the General received the report of the commission the judge, whose name was Attocke, was put in prison.

"When, in July, 1864, I departed from New Orleans, I had command of the last detachment of the 19th army corps that was sent to Virginia when General Sheridan took command of the Middle Military Department.

"I always appreciated the assistance you rendered me while you were with me in Louisiana. The paroled Union soldiers under my command at Algiers and during the trip to Ship Island received such kind treatment that you would be surprised to hear of the cordial receptions I have since received as I have gone through the 'Nutmeg State' and met any of the old Comrades who served with us in Louisiana.

"I am sending you by parcel post some papers, and you are to keep anything in that line I send you. The book on the Old State House in New Haven I sent you you will please keep with my compliments.

"I hope your health will continue good for I will always be

happy to hear from you; and when I meet you I will be able to tell you a great many things about our army experiences.

"Your old friend,

"Captain L. O'Brien."

"New Haven, Conn., Nov. 14, 1915.*

The first turtle soup I ever ate was in Algiers during my short stay there; and for that soup I paid, in greenbacks, two dollars per plate, and I was so hungry after having boarded with the Confederates for about ten days that I think I would have been willing to pay double that sum.

Concerning the regimental organization the following extract from "The Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion" will give the reader some information:

"July 1st—1863—the regiment was in camp at Congo Square, New Orleans. July 4th, as an attempt to recapture the city of New Orleans was expected, the regiment, together with all the troops quartered there, was on duty paroling the city. July 25th, the regiment was ordered to camp at Bonnet Carre."

The following letter, as the heading will show, was written from Ship Island; it was written while we were on the Island awaiting exchange:

"Ship Island, Gulf of Mexico,
"July 28, 1863.

"Dear ———:

"Yours of the 12th inst. was duly received. . . . When I tell you that this island on which we have been encamped since the first part of the month consists almost entirely of fine, white sand, with scarcely a tree for shade or ornament and with only here and there a patch of grass, you cannot doubt the propriety of applying the term 'barren' to our present quarters. In this sand our tents are pitched, and on this sand, with a mere woolen blanket for a bed, we lie, and sleep as best we can, with the various insects that minister to our (dis) comfort. Our shoes are never free from the irritating presence of this sand. You may find it difficult to believe me when I say that from about ten-

*It is with sincere regret that a picture of my dear friend, Captain Lawrence O'Brien, cannot appear in connection with this article. Readers of *Americana* would recognize Captain O'Brien a noble specimen of a native of the "Green Isle," but now a loyal and highly respected citizen of this, his adopted country.

thirty o'clock A. M. till about one-thirty P. M. the sand is so hot from the sun's rays that an attempt on our part to walk in it with bare feet, as some of the acclimated natives do, will prove so painful as to deter one from a second attempt.

"The comfortable nights which we invariably have, offset, to a considerable degree, at least, other inconveniences we suffer.

"Every steamer that lands at the wharf is eagerly watched by the boys in the oft-disapopinted hope that it is the one to take us to the land of trees and shrubbery and grass, and to our regimental comrades who are strangely endeared to us, none the less by their absence from us.

"We have picked up on the beaches of this island in our wandering here and there quite a few pretty shells, and as the fighting days of the 23d are now passed there is a good prospect of my getting some of them home for preservation as reminders of our sojourn in the malarial lowlands of Louisiana, and especially of our encampment on this barren island in the Gulf of Mexico.

"Our journey from New Orleans to Ship Island was an amusing as well as an exciting one. The paroled Union prisoners were in charge of Captain Lawrence O'Brien of the Ninth Connecticut. A portion of the journey lay through a narrow canal and our conveyance was a small stern-wheel steamboat which in the North would be a decided curiosity. The wheels by which these boats are propelled are at the rear end of the vessel and resemble somewhat an overshot wheel such as used to be seen in many of the old mills at the North 'befo' de wah.' The amusing part of our journey through the canal consisted of the frequency with which the steamer ran first against one side and then against the other of the narrow canal, sometimes nearly taking us off our feet with the short, sharp, abrupt manner in which the homely craft came to a standstill, and causing great hilarity among the boys, who, after a good rest, were overflowing with animal spirits. The banter of which the poor captain of the boat was the object must have thoroughly tested his peppery Southern temper.

"Soon after entering Lake Pontchartrain we made a brief landing, and re-embarked on a sidewheel-steamer, and after a delightful trip through the lake, with its picturesque surroundings, we reached Ship Island, the first sight of which was productive of no little merriment on the part of those who had not been there before.

"The only circumstance to mar our trip through Lake Pontchartrain was the incessant reports of the presence of Confederate guerillas along the shores, ready to fire into a com-

paratively defenseless transport and perhaps send us to the bottom of the lake with no chance for self-defense; but the guerillas, for some reason, did not appear, and we went on our way unmolested. We were, however, kept on the *qui vive* every moment until we emerged in the broad waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

"Many of the boys are making an effort to 'kill time' with cards and checkers; others have suddenly blossomed into students and a book or periodical is their constant companion. I have re-read 'Hamlet' and 'The Lady of Lyons' with new pleasure and have thus made more tolerable our life on this waste of nature.

"But already I have, I fear, exceeded the limits of acceptability; so with kindest regards to Mrs. —— and hoping that letter-writing between us may soon cease, I remain as ever,

"Yours sincerely,

"A. M. Sherman.

"As I close my letter a report is in circulation that we are soon to return to New Orleans preparatory to being mustered out. I only hope it is true."

The above letter must have been written early in the day for at about nine o'clock in the evening of the 28th of July, the paroled prisoners of our regiment had rejoined the regiment at Bonne Carre just above the Crescent City.

The following letter written to a friend at home gives some account of our trip from Bonne Carre homeward:

"Cairo, Ill., August 17, 1863.

"Dear ——.

"After an exceedingly interesting trip of about ten days from Bonne Carre, La., we arrived here today, and I hasten to write you, with the expectation that this letter will reach you some hours before the Twenty-third will reach Connecticut.

"We left New Orleans on Tuesday, July 28th, the same day of our arrival from Ship Island, and reached Bonne Carre at about nine o'clock on the same day.

"On Sunday morning, August 9th, we left Bonne Carre on the river steamer 'Chamberville,' and the ecstacy of the boys in realizing that their faces were turned homeward is indescribable!

"On our way up the Mississippi we stopped several times; at Port Hudson, the scene of the never-to-be-forgotten 'forlorn

hope,' on the 11th of August. Here we buried one of Company E's boys.

"On the morning of the 13th we went ashore and buried in sadness, on the banks of the swiftly-flowing river, another of E's boys.

"On the 14th we arrived at Vicksburg where we spent a few hours in hastily inspecting the famous battleground, and where we buried one of Company B.'s boys. At Vicksburg we changed boats, going on board the 'Albert Price.'

"On the 15th, after leaving Vicksburg, we threw overboard a negro who had died on the boat.

"We stopped for an hour at Helena, Ark., where I purchased some cheese at the rate of seventy-five cents per pound; and more delicious cheese I never tasted.

"One of our chief pleasures on our homeward trip was the fresh bread served out to the boys by the quartermaster at several different points where we stopped.

"To say that the Mississippi River is crooked is to convey a very inadequate idea of its tortuous course, which frequently renders it necessary to sail many miles to gain a short distance.

"But our trip was not entirely pleasant. I cannot tell you how many times our steamer, a stern-wheeler, ran against a huge snag in the river, forcing the steam from the boiler in great clouds and producing, until we became accustomed to it, the greatest consternation among the boys, of whom there must have been nearly one thousand on board, as portions of regiments other than the Twenty-third came up the river with us. But the snags and the escaping steam were not our greatest annoyance, by any means.

"Along the western shore at several points small bodies of Confederates soldiers could be seen; and the report coming to us at one of our landing-places that the Confederates had artillery and would fire into our boat we were got in readiness to land and punish these audacious troublers. Several rifle balls were fired into our boat, but fortunately no one was hurt, and we did not land, although the boys were itching to do so.

"Making a landing for a supply of wood for the boat several of the boys gratuitously assisted in loading, taking great sticks on their shoulders and running across the gang-plank with the agility of old salts.

"As we approached Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River all eyes were wide open to get sight of this scene of so many thrilling naval exploits; and how glad we were to set our feet on loyal soil at this place!

"We expect soon to leave here on the cars for home. This is

probably my last letter to you by mail; the next one I hope to bring myself. Till then, good-by.

"Yours sincerely,

"A. M. Sherman."

From Cairo, Illinois, our regiment came by rail through the central western states and Pennsylvania and New York to the "Nutmeg State."

Not a few incidents, amusing, interesting and otherwise occurred on our journey eastward; for example: In the middle of the night one of the members of my company, a son of Erin, by the way, while intoxicated, walked out of the open double sliding doors of the box freight car in which we were riding and rolled down an embankment at the side of the railroad tracks a distance of about thirty feet. As might be expected the train kept on its course eastward. We who were awake and aware of our comrade's sudden disappearance naturally concluded he had been killed. Imagine our astonishment next day when, during a long stop-over of the train at a railroad station about fifty miles distant from the scene of the incident just related our comrade made his appearance at the station, having, uninjured by his fall, boarded a passenger train and overtaken us. It was the conclusion of the members of our company that when the intoxicated comrade struck the ground after leaving the freight car, he doubled up like a ball and rolled down the high embankment, thus escaping injury which he would doubtless otherwise have received. It was a long time before the comrade heard the last of the good-natured bantering of "the boys."

I distinctly remember that in consequence of the hot, uncomfortable weather we experienced on our trip eastward some of the members of our company left the close, stuffy car in which they were riding, and , going to the top of the freight car, passed the night, sleeping as best they could.

All the way through Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, especially at the larger stations, the people overwhelmed "the boys" with kindness in the form of cakes, pies, sandwiches, fruit and other delicacies; and to those of the men who were sick—and there were not a few—wine of the most delicious flavor was brought.

The author has a vivid recollection of the kindness of the women at Bellefontaine, Logan County, Ohio, among whom were a number of young women. As our train stopped an hour or more at Bellefontaine opportunity was afforded the author for cultivating the acquaintance of one or two attractive young women; and, exchanging addresses with them I corresponded with them after my arrival home. It was, however, only a friendly correspondence, for on my departure for the seat of war in the previous autumn I had left a "girl behind me" in the "Nutmeg State;" and this young lady I subsequently married.

Through the central west nothing was too good for the boys in blue returning from the seat of war in the sunny south. At Cleveland, Ohio, which we reached late in the day we were given a bountiful supper; and at Erie, Pennsylvania, we also received splendid treatment, but on reaching Albany, New York, we were served with *crackers and cheese.* This was in such marked contrast with our treatment in the west that it was the cause of no little unfavorable comment on the part of "the boys."

In due course we arrived in New Haven, Connecticut, and were given a cordial welcome by the people of that city.

On the 31st of August, 1863, the Twenty-third Connecticut Volunteer Infantry were mustered out at Fair Haven, Connecticut, and returned to their homes as speedily as possible. The meetings and greetings we received at our homes were of such a nature as to forbid description.

It was several months before "the boys" fully recovered from the effects of their long sojourn in malarial Louisiana; and some never recovered their health.

Some of the Women who Skilfully Planned and Heroically Suffered in the Revolution for the Cause of American Independence

By J. C. Pumpelly, A.M., LL.B.

XX

Hannah Caldwell of New Jersey Who Gave Her Life For The Cause

FEW occurrences in the whole history of the War of the Revolution excited so universal a sentiment of horror and indignation as the deliberate and barbarous murder of Hannah, the wife of Rev. James Caldwell, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

She was the daughter of John Ogden, of Newark, New Jersey, and was a descendant of the Pilgrims. He was at one time Chaplain of the army and his eloquent and patriotic appeals often greatly sustained the drooping spirits of the soldiers and his zeal rendered him obnoxious to the enemy and a price was set upon his head and even while preaching he was forced to keep a loaded pistol by his side for self-protection. While living temporarily in Springfield, New Jersey, his church and parsonage were being used as a hospital for the sick and wounded of the American army. Its bell sounded the alarm on the approach of the enemy, the weary soldiers often slept upon its floor and ate from the seats of the pews so that the worshippers on the Sabbath were not infrequently compelled to stand through the service. The British being determined to deprive our men of even this shelter set fire to and burned down both the church and the parsonage January 25, 1780.

Mr. Caldwell moved on May 1, 1780, to Connecticut Farms, four miles from Elizabeth. On June 7th the British troops under the Hessian General Kayphansen landed at Elizabeth and burned and pillaged wherever they went.

Three of his children, Josiah Flint, Elias Boudinot and Maria, an infant, and the nurse, remained with their mother in the house, she having refused to ride away with her husband early that morning. She had hid several articles of value in a bucket in the well and filled her pockets with silver and jewelry and then set her house in order and taking her child in her arms retired into her chamber, the window of which commanded a view of the road. The alarm was given that the British were at hand but this sweet and noble lady who had not a personal enemy in the world felt that she was safe because as she said "they will respect a mother."

She had just nursed the infant and given it to the nurse when a soldier left the road and crossing over came to the window of the room, put his gun close to it and fired. Two balls entered the breast of Mrs. Caldwell, she fell back on the bed and in a moment expired. Abigail, the girl nurse, received in her face some of the splinters of glass from which the balls entered the window.

After the murder Mrs. Caldwell's dress was cut open and her pockets rifled by the soldiers who conveyed the body to a house on the other side of the road. Her house was then burned to the ground, and so the pillaging and burning went on until the village was laid waste.

The Hon. Samuel L. Southard alluding to the death of this most worthy lady in connection with a memorial presented to the United States Senate for the church and property destroyed says: "Her children were baptized to piety and patriotism in a mother's blood."

Mr. Caldwell in an address to the public showed that his wife's murder was a deliberate act committed at the instigation of those in authority. No officer interfered to preserve the corpse from being stripped or burnt nor to relieve the babies left thus desolate among them.

This martyr to the cause of American liberty was interred in the burial ground of the Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown,

but the tragedy was not yet complete for on November 24, 1781, when Mr. Caldwell, the widower, went to Elizabethtown Point for a Miss Murray, who came under a flag of truce from New York, and when about to enter his rig with the lady, he was shot and killed by a man named Morgan who had just been relieved from duty as a sentinel, and who it is supposed was bribed by the British to do the deed.

The murderer was afterwards tried and executed. The minister's remains are laid in the same grave with those of his wife, and over their remains was erected, in 1846, the "Caldwell Monument" which beautifully and appropriately bears testimony to the virtues and sacrifices of this most able and worthy couple. These noble parents were honored by their children. The eldest son, John Edwards, was taken by Lafayette to France where he was educated and in after years was editor of one of the first religious periodicals in the country. The fifth son Elias Boudinot was taken by the Hon. Elias Boudinot, President of the First Congress and was afterwards clerk of the United States Supreme Court and one of the originators of the Colonization Society.

XXI—Mrs. Lucy Ives—Mrs. Bidlock—XXII XXIII—Mrs. Young—Catherine Vernooy—XXIV of Wyoming.

Over the Massacre of Wyoming in 1778 illustrated by poet and historian, there hovers, says Mrs. Ellet, "the solemn glory that enshrines the resting place of heroes; the fury of the tories and savages swept in a tempest of blood and fire over those devoted homes to defend which, wives and daughters equally with husbands and sons sacrificed their all."

While the men served in the army, the women planted, reaped and gathered the crops, and manufactured ammunition, and when warned at midnight of the inevitable massacre, they fled in terror without sufficient clothes or food, fortunate if they even escaped butchery.

Mrs. Lucy Ives was a child of ten years of age at Forty Fort when her two brothers and her father were killed in the massacre

and her mother and her remaining children sought refuge in Connecticut.

Mrs. Bidlock, daughter of Obiadiah Gore, was then twenty years of age. Her father aided in defending the fort while five sons and two brothers-in-law took part in the battle, and at sunset five of the seven lay dead upon the field.

Mrs. Young, was the daughter of a Mr. Payner, a Huguenot refugee and she was the last survivor of those who defended the fort at Mill Creek and with six others made her escape by canoe down the river.

Many other names of women who loaded the guns for the defenders and cared for the wounded could be mentioned.

It was the courage and presence of mind of *Catherine Vernooy* that saved the fort at Wawasink, for when going to milk the cows she heard the enemy coming and by turning back quickly got the door of the fort closed, and she and the sentry got up the brace that supported it. So also the females at the house of Peter Vernooy loaded the two sets of muskets and stood with axes ready if the savages should break through the windows and so they saved the day.

Monuments That Speak

By S. G. Lapham.

THERE are many monuments on which one has to read the inscription to know who or what they are intended to represent. There are, however, some fine monuments in the United States on which the story stands out in such bold relief that one can read at a passing glance the reason for their existence.

Among these are the Sea Gull Monument at Salt Lake City; The Margaret Haughery Monument at New Orleans, and the Mary Jemison Statue in Letchworth Park at Portage, N. Y.

The Sea Gull Monument.

The Sea Gull of the inland lakes is almost a sacred bird in Utah. It is protected by legislative enactment under a law passed in 1897. The reason for this protection of, and the feeling almost of reverence for, this graceful denizen of the air marks an epoch in the history of our country—an event which not only threatened dire results to the early settlers of Utah but was the precursor of the terrible scourge of grasshoppers which visited and nearly devastated the State of Kansas in later years.

This regard and protection is in grateful remembrance of the aid afforded by them to the pioneers of Utah in the fight against the crickets, or grasshoppers, in 1848.

A very complete history and description of the Sea Gull Monument with a full page photograph was published in Americana in the October, 1912, number.

The Margaret Haughery Monument.

The first monument to a woman in the United States was erected, by the ladies of New Orleans, in memory of Margaret

Haughery, a baker woman, who could neither read nor write, but who devoted her whole life and means to charity.

Margaret went to the Crescent City as a servant, and saw so many pitiful cases of destitution all around her that she soon set apart a small sum out of her wages every month to buy bread for those poorer than herself. She soon found that the pittance she was able to spare was altogether inadequate to the demands made upon it, so by rigid economy she saved money enough to open a small bakeshop.

There she sold only enough to pay the rent and provide herself with the plainest of clothes and the scantiest of fare; all the rest she gave away every day at noon, to the poor children of her neighborhood who flocked to her door. There was no pushing or crowding among these applicants as the bread was given out as long as it lasted. Many pathetic little incidents were noted; one little lame boy was always helped to the front by the others.

When Margaret found that she could no longer provide loaves for her constantly increasing army of pensioners, she appealed to wealthy men and women who were greatly impressed by her generosity and gave freely to maintain her unique charity. Her little shop expanded to a steam bakery, giving away thousands of loaves daily, but she continued to live in the same frugal fashion until the day of her death. "Margaret" bread was literally the staff of life for many a destitute family, and many a starving man and woman blessed her name.

Before she died she built four asylums and homes for the friendless poor.

The bronze statue of Margaret Haughery stands in a small public square facing Margaret Place. The form and figure of Margaret have been faithfully followed and the facial resemblance is said to be quite remarkable. The statue represents a motherly woman seated, on a highly decorated pedestal, holding a loaf of bread in one hand, while with the other she draws a ragged waif to her breast.

The White Woman of the Genesee.

Mary Jemison was captured by the Indians, at an early age, in 1755 near what is now Gettysburg, Pa., and according to their

custom, was adopted by a Seneca family to take the place of a member of the family who was killed in battle with the English under George Washington. She was married to a Seneca Indian while a girl, and tramped with her babe on her back, accompanied by her foster relatives to the Genesee River.

She lived among the Seneca Indians the remainder of her life and died at the age of ninety-one years. She was once the owner of extensive lands on the Genesee River. She was first buried in the mission burying ground near Buffalo. When the advance of modern improvements threatened this burying ground, her remains were taken up and re-interred in the Council House Grounds which are a part of the beautiful estate, now Letchworth Park.

A bronze statue of Mary Jemison "The White Woman of the Genesee" designed by Henry K. Bush-Brown was erected by William Pryor Letchworth at Portage, N. Y., in 1910 under the auspices of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society.

This Park containing 1,000 acres was given to the State of New York by Dr. Letchworth.

The statue represents Mary Jemison in Indian garb, with a babe on her back as she arrived at the Genesee from Ohio.

Sacajawea—The Bird Woman.

Sacajawea, the Bird Woman Guide to the expedition of Lewis and Clark in Oregon in 1804, was the wife of Toussaint Charbonneau one of the interpreters of the expedition. She was a member of the Snake Indian tribe taken in war by the Minnetaries. She was sold as a slave to Charbonneau who brought her up and afterwards married her. A river was discovered by this party which they named Sahcajahweah, or Bird Woman River.

On their arrival at the Whitebear Island, Capt. Clark observed a dark cloud in the west which threatened rain. They sought shelter where they would be secure from being blown into the river as the wind is sometimes very violent. They took refuge in a deep ravine under shelving rocks. Feeling secure they laid aside guns, compass and other articles. The rain fell and soon

came down in a solid mass. A sudden flood swept over them carrying mud and rocks. Capt. Clark fortunately saw this flood in time to spring up with a gun and shot pouch in his left hand, with his right pushing on the Indian woman with her babe in her arms.

The rise of water was so instantaneous that before Clark could reach the gun, water was up to his waist. He could hardly climb ahead of flood until it reached the height of fifteen feet. Clark lost his compass and other valuable instruments. When within about three days travel of the Pacific, near the middle fork of the Wisdom and Lewis rivers, Clark could not follow the trail as the tracks of the Indians who had gone ahead, were so scattered.

Sacajawea recognized the plain immediately. She had travelled it often in her childhood. She said that on reaching the highermost part of the plain they would see a gap in the mountains on the course to their canoes—this proved correct.

At the village of Little Crow, Charbonneau and his wife decided to remain. Clark wrote in his journal; "Sacajawea has borne with a patience truly admirable the fatigues of so long a route encumbered with the charge of an infant, who is even now only nineteen months old."

The statue represents Sacajawea as she appeared when guiding the expedition to the mountain passes. It was erected by the Women of Oregon on the grounds of the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland in 1905. The grounds are now a public park.

The Ether Memorial

This Memorial, a monument of granite and red marble was erected in the Public Garden and given to the City of Boston in 1867 by Thomas Lee, a citizen. John Quincy Adams Ward was the sculptor.

The monument consists of a square granite water basin, surrounded by a pavillion made up of arches supported by four red granite pillars. On each face of the granite water basin are carved water lilies and a lion's head which serves as a water spout. Each face of the granite block between the red granite columns is decorated with a base-relief and an inscription. The

monument is crowned with a figure of the Good Samaritan, supporting the nude form of a youth and staunching his wounds.

In the arch facing the southwest the bas-relief represents the performance of a surgical operation.

INSCRIPTION

To commemorate
The Discovery
That the Inhaling of Ether
Causes Insensibility to Pain
First Proved to the World
At the
Mass. General Hospital
In Boston
October A. D. MDCCCXLVI

In the arch facing northwest is an allegory of the triumph of Science; a figure representing Medicine and Surgery sits in the center, with the instruments of her art at her side; on the left an old man kneels, and at the right a mother reclines with her child. The inscription is a quotation from Isaiah.

In the arch facing the northeast is represented a field hospital with a wounded soldier in the hands of a surgeon.

INSCRIPTION

In Gratitude
For the Relief
Of Human suffering
By the Inhaling of Ether
A citizen of Boston
Has erected this Monument.
A. D. MDCCCLXVII

The Gift of Thomas Lee.

In the arch facing the southeast is represented the vision of an angel of mercy descending towards a sleeper.

INSCRIPTION

Neither Shall There Be
Any More Pain.
Rev.

In 1915 the Old Settlers Club of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, presented to the city a large boulder and a bronze tablet as a memorial to Dr. I. A. Lapham, a distinguished scientist and one of the pioneers of that city.

A full description of this memorial and of the unveiling ceremonies was published in Americana for December, 1915.

Book Reviews

THE CONQUEST OF VIRGINIA, THE FOREST PRIMEVAL, by Conway Whittle Sams, B. L. (G. P. Putman's Sons, New York, Price, $3.50, with Illustrations and Map). This work covers a period in Virginian history but scantly dealt with heretofore,—that of the beginnings of the reclamation of the primeval forest to the uses and purposes of civilization and the struggles of the first colonists to maintain themselves in peace with their Indian neighbors while laboring for the permanence of the settlement. The author has founded his text upon the writings left by members of the colony themselves, and a very useful and interesting summary of these ancient documents appears in the *preface*. This volume, comprising over four hundred pages, is the first of a series treating upon Virginia which the author intends issuing. It is confined to the first appearance of the white man in Virginia, his relations with the Indians, and the information now available of the then Indian life, manners and habits gleaned from the accounts of such of the white settlers as reduced their observations to writing. It presents a vivid picture of the Virginia Indians and contains a mass of valuable information conveniently gathered together, throwing many interesting sidelights upon the life of the colonists in their association with their savage neighbors. The work should be read by every student of our national development as an exposition, in excellent and convenient form, of a little known or appreciated chapter in the growth of the continent, and of the hardships, heroically borne, by the Virginia planters, who, whatever the shortcomings history ascribes to them, yet valiantly set about their almost superhuman task of founding—their share at least—a "new world." The illustrations and map with which the volume is embellished add greatly to its usefulness and interest.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, by Henry B. Rankin. (G. P. Putman's Sons, New York, Price, $2.00 net;

Illustrated). Mr. Rankin's book, with an introduction by Joseph Fort Newton, just published, is a most interesting addition to the wealth of *Lincolniana* which the lovers of the "martyr" president have given the nation. The author was fortunate enough to know at close range our great "first citizen" and speaks at first hand of much of those more obscure and little known days when Lincoln was making his struggle for a place in life and before his great honors were attained. The descriptions of Lincoln's early life, his circle of friends, and the events leading up to his marriage, with the able delineation of Mrs. Lincoln, make the volume not only most interesting to read, but of great value as a carefully compiled record given by an intimate and friend who was an eyewitness of most of the events he chronicles in the statesman's career. This volume detailing many little known incidents in Lincoln's life, both before and after his elevation to the presidency, is not only of great value to history, but aids in a fuller understanding of the man. It is decidedly distinctive, interestingly written, and a contribution to literature well worthy of the great subject of its text.

Historic Views and Reviews

CONTRIBUTED BY J. COLLINS PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B.

We venture to publish this letter of our Associate Editor on account of the rather remarkable misconceptions of our French friends.

It is a bit of history with a useful moral.—EDITOR.

255 West 108th St.,
New York, Nov. 1, 1915.

Miss Augusta Drake, Assistant Sec'y,
City History Club of New York.

Dear Miss Drake,—

In reply to your question, "What are the names of the eleven (11) young men who came to America with Lafayette on his first visit in 1777?" I would say that, from my investigations so far, I am not able to answer your question decidedly, but send you the following data for Mr. Kelley to examine and report upon before I look into the matter more closely.

In Charlemagne's "The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution," I find this data as to La Fayette's final arrangements with Silas Deane and others in December, 1776, in Paris preparatory to leaving for America:

"List of officers of Infantry and Light Troops destined to serve in the armies of the States General of North America.

NAME OF OFFICER.	RANK.	COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR PAY.
M. de la Fayette,	Major General,	Dec. 7, 1776.
Baron de Kalb,	Major General,	Nov. 7, 1776.
Delesser,	Colonel,	Dec. 7, 1776.
De Valfort,	Colonel,	Dec. 7, 1776.
De Fayols,	Lieut. Colonel,	Nov. 20, 1776.
De Frauval,	Lieut. Colonel,	Dec. 1, 1776.
Dubois Martin,	Major,	Nov. 7, 1776.
De Gimat,	Major,	Dec. 1, 1776.
De Vrigny,	Captain,	Dec. 1, 1776.
De Bedaulx,	Captain,	Dec. 1, 1776.
De la Colombe,	Lieutenant,	Dec. 1, 1776.
Candon,	Lieutenant,	Nov. 7, 1776.

"The mentioned ranks and the pay which the most honorable Congress shall affix to them to commence at the periods marked. The present list have been agreed to by us the undersigned: Silas Deane, in quality of Deputy of the American States General, on the one part, the Marquis de la Fayette and the Baron de Kalb on the other part. Signed double at Paris the 7th of December, 1776.

De Kalb,
The Marquis De la Fayette,
Silas Deane."

Sept. 15, 1777.

Our Congress declined with thanks the services of all these thirteen persons except Lafayette, Baron de Kalb, and M. de Gimat and M. de la Colombe and M. Capitaine de Chesnoy, as aide-de-camp to Lafayette; also, M. de Bedaulex, who was made Captain by brevet by Act of Congress. Six in all.

The expenses to and from America of those whose services were not accepted were paid by Congress.

This is a very interesting and unique episode in the history of our friendship with France, our noblest of friends, because it shows that Silas Deane "had *no authority to make*" the "*conventions*" he did. Also, how strangely mistaken was Baron de Kalb in supposing that it was just or possible for him to carry out his design of making his friend, the Comte de Broglie, Generalissimo of the American armies in place of that far greater man, our beloved Washington.

De Kalb wrote his patron: "It is impossible to execute the great design I have so gladly come to subserve," for he said it would be regarded no less an act of shameful injustice to Washington than as an outrage upon the honor of the country.

Baron de Kalb was surely no statesman or diplomat, but he died like a hero, August 19, 1780, in defense of the American flag, and we therefore hold him ever in grateful remembrance.

Josiah C. Pumpelly,
Historian, Empire State Society, Sons
of the American Revolution.

The Camp Fire Song of the Revolution.

In the dark days of 1776 after our army left New York and was encamped at Middlebrook, New Jersey, the soldiers led by

an Irishman sang "Boys of Kilkenny" the "Sprig of Shillaeah" and a Connecticut yankee caused great amusement by singing the following verses:

"Come out ye Continentallers
We're going far to go
To fight the red coat enemy
Who're plaguy 'cute' you know.

Now *shoulder,* whoop!—eyes right and dress—
Front! Davis wipe your nose—
Port, whoop!—that's slick—now *Carry,* whoop,
Mike Jones turn out your toes.

Charge bayonet!—that's your sort boys,
Now *quick time!*—March!—that's right,
Just so we'd poke the enemy,
If they were but in sight.

Halt!—*shoulder,* whoop!—stop laughing Nick,—
By platoons wheel!—halt—dress!
Hold up your muzzles on the left;
No talking more or less.

Bill Sneezer keep your canteen down,
We're going far to travel;
'Captain I want to halt a bit,
My shoe is full of gravel.'

Ho! strike up music—*for'ard march!*
Now point your toes Bob Rogers;
See, yonder are the red-coat men
Let's fly upon them sogers."

This song pictured the first marching of the "awkward squad" enlisted for the Continental service, and was intended to ridicule the militia in general.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

The yellow, printed slip which was sent out with the January number of the magazine "Americana" should have read that the issues of the "Americana" for the year 1916 will appear in the months of January, April, July and October.

AMERICANA

July, 1916

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

No. VII

The First Churches of Halifax

By Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, M. A., D. C. L.

Timbered in times when men built strong,
With a tower of wood grown gray,
The frame of it old, the heart still young,
It has stood for many a day.

. . . . . .

Tablets cover its ancient walls
To men of virtues rare.
And hatchments as in English halls,
In gules and gold, are there.
St. Paul's Church *in Acadian Ballads.*

"Like painted portraits in ancestral halls,
Sweet, serious memories throng around thy walls."
Rev. Dyson Hague.

HAND in hand with the zealous promoters of colonization and commerce, the Lords of Trade, in their enterprise in founding Halifax, went the pious leaders of the renowned Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in establishing the worship and discipline of the Church of England in the new settlement. Priests of the Anglican Communion had ministered with more or less regularity as chaplains to the garrison and pastors to the civilians at the earlier capital, Annapolis Royal, from the final capture of that place for England in 1710, to the coming of Cornwallis in 1749, but these were not missionaries of the S. P. G. but rather

army chaplains, receiving army pay. When the founding of Halifax was projected, the Society appointed two clergymen, the Rev. William Tutty, M. A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who had been ordained in 1737, and the Rev. William Anwyll, B. A., a naval chaplain, of the diocese of Chester;[1] and a schoolmaster, Mr. Edward Halhead, to accompany the expedition. To minister to the continental French speaking people who it was learned would follow in the wake of the English settlers, they appointed also a highly educated French clergyman, the Rev. Jean Baptiste Moreau, who had been a Roman Catholic, and prior of the Abbey of St. Matthew, near Brest, but had been converted to Protestantism and received into the Church of England.[2]

The first ships that came from England brought Mr. Anwyll and Mr. Moreau, and a few weeks later, probably about midsummer, Mr. Tutty appeared. On the twenty-first of June, 1749, which is regarded as the birthday of Halifax, Mr. Anwyll conducted the first service on shore, undoubtedly under the open sky, and for a little while, when the weather served, services continued to be held out doors. When Governor Cornwallis's house was built, on the spot where the Province Building now stands, the modest drawing-room of this official dwelling was used for worship, but a little later, until a church building could be erected, the rude warehouse of a certain half-pay officer, a Mr. Callendar, who had begun some kind[3] of business in the town, was engaged.

Among the first acts of the governor after he landed was to send to Boston for the frames of two or three buildings. One of these was his own house, another was St. Paul's Church. In a letter to the Lords of Trade dated March nineteenth, 1750, Corn-

1. Before coming to Halifax, Mr. Tutty had been curate in a parish in Hertford. For some reason, but what we do not know, very soon after the settlement of Halifax the Society became dissatisfied with Mr. Anwyll and recalled his license for this mission. The poor man, however, did not get away from Halifax, but died there, and was buried February 10, 1750.

2. The Rev. Mr. Moreau's son, Cornwallis Moreau, is said to have been the first male child of the new settlers born in Halifax. Moreau (whose name Judge Des Brisay in his "History of Lunenburg" spells *Morreau*) came out in the frigate *Canning*, Captain Andrew Dewar, in the first group of ships that came from England. The French who formed his chief congregation came later, but it must have been well understood by the S. P. G. that they were coming. Moreau preached in Halifax first, Judge Des Brisay says, September 9, 1750.

3. In a letter to the Lords of Trade written September 16, 1750, Cornwallis says that he had had service performed in Mr. Callendar's warehouse three times a week for some time. *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. I.

wallis writes: "I expect the frame of the church will be here the next month from New England." The church, built of oak and white pine, at probably the estimated cost of a thousand pounds, the model for it being St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, was formally opened for worship on the second of September, 1750, Mr. Tutty alone conducting the service, for before this time Mr. Anwyll had died.

The biographers of Mr. Moreau take pains to tell us that he could speak three languages, and from the fact that on the fourteenth of October, 1752, this missionary writes the Society that his congregation numbers eight hundred adults and two hundred children, we suppose that he was able to minister to the German speaking people in Halifax as well as the French. But the Germans, who were at least in part Lutherans of the Confession of Augsburg, seem to have brought with them, or imported soon, a minister of their own faith, a Mr. Burger, and pastoral work among them seems to have been performed by him, as well as the Rev. Mr. Tutty and the Rev. Mr. Moreau. Before long, however, Burger was won to the Anglican Communion, and with Mr. Tutty's and Mr. Moreau's and the Governor's recommendations, sailed for England to apply for Orders. Whether, had he returned, he would soon have led most of his Lutheran friends into the Church of England we do not know, but he was probably lost at sea on his return voyage, for the town of Halifax never saw him again. On the eighth of June, 1753, the larger part of the foreign settlers, both Germans and French, were removed to Lunenburg, and with them the French clergyman Moreau.[4] Af-

4. It is not easy to tell the relative number of Germans and French in Halifax or Lunenburg. The Germans evidently greatly outnumbered the French, but among the grantees in Lunenburg were many French names. Such for example, were Beautillier, Bissane, Contoy, Darey, Deauphinee, Emonout, Jeanperin, Jodery, Leangille, Masson, Morash, Pernette, Risser, Spannagel, Vienot, etc. The Germans were largely from Lunëburg, in Hanover, but some we believe were from Switzerland. The French came largely from Montbeliard, the capital city of an arondissement in the French department of Doubs. All these people were Protestants, the Germans being divided in religion between Lutheranism and the German Reformed faith, the French being attached to their own form of Protestantism. The latter, it would seem, more easily conformed to the Anglican Church than the former. French Protestantism as a separate religion in Lunenburg seems to have disappeared soon under the influence of Mr. Moreau, Lutheranism, however, and the German Reformed faith (although in 1837 this was transformed into Presbyterianism), have lasted there until the present day. Mr. Moreau continued to minister in Lunenburg as an Anglican clergyman until 1770, when he died.

ter this there were left in the town of these foreign people only from fifteen to twenty-five families of Germans, numbering it is probable at most not more than a hundred and fifty souls, and to them Mr. Tutty, who had learned the German language sufficiently well to preach in it, continued to minister when his duties to his English parishioners would permit.

In 1752, two more Anglican clergymen came to Halifax, the Rev. John Breynton and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Wood. The first of these was an Englishman, a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who had been a naval chaplain for several years, the second was a man who had been "bred to physic and surgery" in the province of New Jersey, and had served as a surgeon to troops at Louisburg, but from Louisburg, in 1749, had gone to England for ordination to the priesthood of the Anglican Church. For between two and three years after graduation, we suppose, Dr. Wood had ministered to churches in New Brunswick and Elizabethtown, New Jersey, but in the autumn of 1752 he came to Halifax. His long, valuable service to the cause of religion in Nova Scotia we cannot here take time to describe, in Halifax and at Annapolis Royal, to the English speaking people, and to the Micmac natives, whose language soon after coming to Nova Scotia he took pains to learn, he gave faithful ministry until his death at Annapolis Royal in 1778.[5] Mr. Breynton came out from England to assist Mr. Tutty at St. Paul's, but early in 1753 Mr. Tutty went home to attend to some private business, and before

5. The following letter testimonial which Dr. Wood took with him to England when he went there to apply for ordination throws light on Wood's history from 1746 or '47 until June, 1749. The letter reads:

"Louisburg, 3rd June, 1749.

"This is to certify that Mr. Thomas Wood, late surgeon of the Regiment of Kent, commanded by Capt. William Shirley, during his residence in this place, which was for the space of two years and upwards, hath lived a sober, regular, and blameless life, nor hath he written or maintained, as far as we know or believe, anything contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

"P. HOPSON,
ROBT. ELLISON,
J. J. L. BASTION,
JOHN BREYNTON."

After receiving Orders Dr. Wood probably gave up the practice of medicine and devoted himself to the ministry, and until he came to Nova Scotia (in the autumn of 1752) was S. P. G. missionary at New Brunswick and Elizabethtown in New Jersey. See the writer's notices of him in "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution"; and Canon Vernon's "Bicentenary Sketches" (published in Halifax in 1910).

THE REV. HENRY CANER, A. M.
Minister of King's Chapel, Boston

the year ended he had died in his native land. Mr. Breynton was then appointed Rector of St. Paul's, and in this position, an active, conscientious, and useful clergyman, he ministered to the Halifax people for thirty-two years.

The distinction of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, the parish, which was first fully organized in 1759, and the church building, still standing, which was erected in 1750, as the mother church of the Anglican body in all Canada, must render this church an object of distinction in the thought of all the generations to come. The church has a further distinction in that its deed of endowment, dated January fourth, 1760, describes it as a "Royal Foundation and of Exempt Jurisdiction," which means that it is, from its peculiar foundation, not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop, since its authorization was directly by the King or by a subject especially commissioned by him.[6] When St. Paul's was established, the nearest Anglican parishes to it, besides whatever of a parish existed at Annapolis Royal, were: the Queen's Chapel at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, whose rector was Arthur Browne; St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts, whose rector was Matthias Plant; St. Michael's, Marblehead, whose rector was Alexander Malcolm; St. Paul's, Salem, whose rector was William McGilchrist; the King's Chapel, at Boston, where Dr. Henry Caner was the chief clergyman; Christ Church, Boston, whose minister was Dr. Timothy Cutler; and Trinity Church, Boston, the rector of which was the Rev. William Hooper. In December, 1755, Mr. Breynton informs the Society that the church building "is completely finished without, and makes a very handsome appearance, and is aisled and plastered within and pewed after a rough manner by the inhabitants." Five years later he writes: "The church at Halifax (called St. Paul's) is almost finished in a neat and elegant manner;" which statement of course refers chiefly to the interior of the building.

Concerning the progress of the parish of St. Paul's in the earliest years of its history we have much information. Its boundaries for a good while were coterminous with those of the

6. See an interesting note on this subject by the present Rector of St. Paul's, Ven. Archdeacon Armitage, Ph.D., in the parish year book for 1910.

town, and as the general population increased or diminished the duties of its rectors and curates became greater or less. The presence of the military, in larger or smaller numbers of course added vastly to the responsibility and the labours of the busy clergy, for although, at least after the Revolution, a special garrison chaplain nominally ministered to the troops, the regiments in great part, and until a spacious garrison chapel was built in 1846, the chief military and naval officers, must have regarded St. Paul's as their proper religious home. In October, 1750, Mr. Tutty writes the Society that the civilian population of Halifax then numbers four thousand, but in July of the next year he places it at about six thousand. In June, 1753, as we have seen, a large part of the French and German settlers and some few English were removed permanently to Lunenburg, and this with the exodus of many of the less desirable English who had come with Cornwallis, to other parts of the continent, so reduced the population that in December, 1755, Mr. Breynton writes the Society that the town has then but thirteen hundred civilians. Of these thirteen hundred the rector claims eight hundred as adherents of the Anglican Church.

If Mr. Tutty's estimate of the population in the two successive years, 1750 and 1751, is correct, between these two dates some two thousand persons must have arrived from abroad, and from New England to join their countrymen who had come from Louisburg or directly from Boston in 1749.[7] These New Englanders

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7. In the *Boston Gazette* of August 1, 1749, appears the following: "We learn by the latest Accounts from Chebucta that his Excellency Governor Cornwallis hath appointed a new Council to assist in the civil Government of that Infant Settlement, most of the old Council being left out (as we learn) on Account of their Distance from that place, as Chebucta is now to be the Metropolis." In the issue of the same paper of August 15, 1749, appears an advertisement for carpenters to go to Chebucta. Persons desirous to go are directed to apply to Charles Apthorp and Thomas Hancock. The passage of men will be paid and provisions found for them at the government's expense.

In the issue of August 15, appears an advertisement for settlers for Halifax. All persons will be welcome that have been in His Majesty's service by sea or land, and "all tradesmen, artificers, and fishermen who have a mind to go." New England settlers "will be on the same footing and have the same encouragement as those who come from England." The advertisement is inserted by Messrs. Apthorp and Hancock, by Governor Cornwallis's orders. Another advertisement to the same effect appears in the issue of August 29.

The issue of October 10th contains an extract from a letter from a gentleman in Halifax saying that the day the letter was written, "Governor Cornwallis to our great joy came on Shoar from the *Beaufort* under the discharge of near a hundred

with a few exceptions were Congregationalists, who had been reared in Boston Congregational churches, and as we should expect and hope, preferring their own religious organization and mode of worship to the Anglican, they soon took measures to establish a Congregational Church. In a communication to the *Boston Weekly News Letter* of April twelfth, 1750, a Halifax correspondent whose name is not given says: "We shall soon have a large church erected, and for the encouragement of Protestant Dissenters a handsome lot is laid out for a Meeting-House and another for a Minister, in a very pleasing situation." In another letter in the same newspaper, probably the same correspondent writes: "Yesterday the Governor laid the Corner Stone of the Church [St. Paul's] which is now building, and which I believe will be the handsomest in America. And as soon as we can get a Dissenting minister settled here we shall have a handsome Meeting-House with a good Dwelling-House for the Minister, built at the Public Expense. I have subscribed to the support of Mr. Cleveland for two months, as have the Governor and most gentlemen here; and I believe we have Dissenters enough here at present for four ministers."[8]

In June, 1750, the Congregationalists called a young New England minister, Rev. Aaron Cleveland, a graduate of Harvard, of whom we have already spoken, to minister to their spiritual needs, and the liberal spirit of Anglican Colonial churchmanship in that day is commendably shown in the fact that until a Congregational meeting-house was built, this being probably from one to three years later than the call to Mr. Cleveland, the whole Congregational community, and no doubt their pastor, worshipped comfortably at St. Paul's on Sunday forenoons, while in the afternoons they were hospitably given the use of the church for

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Cannon from the Ships in the Harbour to reside in his own House, which now makes a very pretty Appearance."

In the issue of January 30, 1750, announcement is made that the sloop *Endeavour*, John Homer, master, lying at Long Wharf, will take freight or people to Halifax. March 13, 1750, a similar announcement is made regarding the schooner *Wealthy*, Joseph Rose, master. April 24, 1750, a similar announcement is made regarding the brig *Dolphin*, Ebenezer Rockwell, master, lying at Hought's wharf, in the North End. (In the last chapter we should have given William Lawson and his family, five persons, as living in the South Suburbs of Halifax in 1752).

8. This is quoted in the writer's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution," p. 272.

their own non-liturgical service. In July, 1751, Mr. Tutty writes the Society: "There is perfect harmony between the Church of England and the Dissenters;" even the most "biggotted" of whom, he says, "seldom fail to come to church every Sunday morning."

The history of St. Paul's Church has been interestingly sketched for us by the Reverend Dr. George Hill in an early volume of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the history of "Mather's" Congregational Church, by Professor Walter Murray, in a late volume of these Collections. On the registers of these churches, which fortunately are well preserved, will be found most of the names of the early settlers of Halifax of British or American birth, for until the introduction of Wesleyanism in 1781-1785, the Protestant people of Halifax, except the foreigners in the North End, belonged for the most part to one of these two churches.[9]

Of the moral and spiritual condition of the people of Halifax generally in the forty years between 1750 and 1790, in spite of the enthusiastic local support which the two chief churches received, we find a great many depressing accounts. One of the more thoughtful New Englanders in the town wrote the Rev. Dr.

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9. In 1786, shortly after his removal from Amherst to Halifax, the Rev. William Black, the noted Wesleyan missionary, wrote: "There is [in Halifax] one large English Church, one small Dutch Church, one Presbyterian Meeting House, one R. C. Chapel, one of Sandemanians, and one of the followers of Swedenborg; together with a few of Lady Huntingdon's Society, and a great swarm of Infidels." Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith's *History of the Methodist Church within the Territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America* (2 vols. Halifax, Toronto, and Montreal, 1890. Vol. 1, p. 173). Of the "Dutch Church" of which Mr. Black writes we shall give the history later, but of any Swedenborgian chapel we have no knowledge at all. Of the introduction of Roman Catholicism into Halifax, Dr. Thomas B. Akins says: "The Penal Statutes [against Roman Catholics] had been repealed in 1783. The Roman Catholics in the town, chiefly emigrants from Ireland, having become numerous, purchased a piece of ground in Barrington Street, where they built a Chapel, which was dedicated to St. Peter. The frame was erected on the 19th of July, 1784, and many of the inhabitants, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, attended the ceremony. This building stood in from the street, directly opposite the head of Salter Street. It was painted red, with a steeple at the western end." Coll. of the N. S. His. Soc., Vol. 8, p. 86.

A sketch of the history of the Church of England in Nova Scotia by Dr. Thomas B. Akins, published in Halifax somewhere about the middle of the nineteenth century; Eaton's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clery of the Revolution," published in New York in 1891; and "Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia," by Canon C. W. Vernon, published in Halifax in 1910, are other sources to be appealed to for information concerning St. Paul's Church. Many of the most important facts for the history of the church are naturally to be found in the first instance in the Reports of the S. P. G.

THE REV. GEORGE WILLIAM HILL, D. C. L.
Fifth Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, 1865-1885

Ezra Stiles, the well known Puritan divine, laconically in 1760: "The business of one-half the town is to sell rum, the other half to drink it. You may from this simple circumstance judge of our morals, and infer that we are not enthusiasts in religion." "Unhappily," writes the Rev. Dr. Hill in his Life of Sir Brenton Halliburton, speaking of the time immediately subsequent to the Revolution, "these days were eminently irreligious days. The laxity of sentiment and the disregard to the doctrine and precepts of the Gospel were painfully manifest. Noble exceptions there were, bright spots amid the murky clouds, refreshing oases in the desert. But the testimony left on record by those whose opinions is worthy of trust is that religion was treated with indifference by the many, with scorn by some, and with reverence but by few. To cite none others, the first Bishop of the Diocese was so impressed with the fearful condition of the community, the general tone of society, and the debasing tendency of the opinions prevailing, that he wrote a letter to some in high places, which is still extant, bewailing in no measured terms the terrible degeneracy of the day, and urging that some step should be taken to erect barriers against that impetuous torrent, which threatened to overwhelm religion and morality."[10] In June, 1781, the Wesleyan minister, Rev. William Black, preached for two days in Halifax. His sermons fell, he says, on stupid ears, "few seemed to care for their souls. There was scarce the shadow of religion to be seen."

Services, nevertheless, in the two churches went regularly on, and there is almost unvarying testimony to the faithfulness to his ministry of the Rev. Dr. Breynton of St. Paul's. In the ministry of Mather's Church the Rev. Aaron Cleveland remained only until the summer of 1754, then, like the German minister Burger, he became enamored of Anglicanism and going to England was ordained a priest. After his resignation the Congregationalists, for what reason we do not know, suffered themselves to go without a settled minister for almost, if not quite, the space of fifteen years. During this time they were ministered to by a succession of either Congregational or Scotch Presbyte-

10. "Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton," by Rev. Dr. George W. Hill, p. 62.

rian clergymen, who seem for the most part if not wholly to have served merely as longer or shorter but still temporary "supplies." Before the end of the eighteenth century, Mather's Congregational Church, owing to a variety of causes, chiefly the incoming to Halifax of Scottish settlers, the political separation between Nova Scotia and New England occasioned by the War of the Revolution, and very likely the permanent attachment of themselves of a good many of the Congregational families to St. Paul's, had become frankly a Scotch Presbyterian Church of the order of the Established Church of Scotland, its old name being changed to "St. Matthew's," the name it still bears.

A notable religious service in St. Paul's in the earliest years of this church's history was an event to which we have already alluded, the inauguration of Mr. Jonathan Belcher as the first Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia, on Monday, the twenty-first of October, 1753. After Mr. Belcher had taken the oaths of his high office, and a reception and breakfast had been given him at the *Great Pontac* inn, in his scarlet robes, accompanied by Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence and the other chief public and private men of the town, the Chief-Justice, with his commission carried before him, proceeded to the church. There, to a deeply impressed congregation Mr. Breynton preached from the declaration of the "wise woman" in Second Samuel,[11] "I am one of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel." A few years later, on Tuesday, the seventeenth of February, 1761, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the president and members of the Council, the officers of the army, and the "chief inhabitants," dressed in mourning, went in procession from Government House to St. Paul's to observe the recent death of King George the Second. To memorialize the sad event the pulpit, reading-desk, and governor's pew were hung with black, and while the prayers were being said and the sermon preached, minute guns were fired from the fortifications of the town.

By 1766, the Rev. Thomas Wood had become sufficiently skilled in Micmac to conduct service and preach to the native Indians in their own language. On a certain Sunday in July, 1766, he

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11. 2d Samuel 20:19.

gathered a large number of the red men into St. Paul's, and there in the presence of Lord William Campbell, the governor, most of the officers of the army and navy, and the leading citizens, said the prayers of the church and preached to these people of the woods. Before the service the Indians sang an anthem, and then, it is said, a chief came forward and kneeling down prayed that God would bless his Majesty, King George the Third, "their lawful king and governor," Mr. Wood at the close of his prayer interpreting it to the white congregation. The natives now sang a second anthem, and at the end of the whole service "thanked God, the Governor, and Mr. Wood for the opportunity they had had of hearing prayer in their own tongue."

The arrival at Halifax with Howe's fleet in the spring of 1776 of the Boston Loyalists was a highly important event in the progress of St. Paul's Church, as it was of course in the general progress of the town. The larger proportion of the refugees who settled in the town were either Episcopalians or had no unwillingness to become so, although a good many of the most ardent Boston Tories were people who had been reared in the Congregational faith. Of any special activity on behalf of these new-comers to Halifax shown by the then Presbyterian pastor of Mather's Church, we are not informed, but Dr. Breynton (for in 1770 in England this clergyman had received an honorary doctorate in divinity) was indefatigable in his attention to the Loyalists's needs. The responsibility of finding adequate shelter on shore for those who wanted to leave the cramped ships made it necessary to set up canvas tents on the Parade in front of the church, and these not being adequate, and every house being taxed to its utmost to give people shelter, Dr. Breynton, we believe, ordered St. Paul's to be opened for a short time to give those who could not find accommodation elsewhere a covered place to sleep.

Of the Loyalists who remained permanently in the town, as a very considerable number did, the DeBloises, who had come from Salem in 1775, the Blowereses, Brattles, Brinleys, Byleses, Coffins, Cunninghams, Gays, Halliburtons, Hutchinsons, Lovells, Lydes, Robies, Snellings, Sternses, Wentworths, Winslows, and others, all connected themselves with St. Paul's. "Two letters have been received in the course of the year," says the secretary

of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in his report for 1776, "from the Society's very worthy missionary the Rev. Dr. Breynton, lamenting the unhappy situation of affairs in America; in consequence of which many wealthy and loyal families have quitted New England, and in hopes of a safe retreat have taken up their residence in Halifax, thereby becoming a great acquisition to the province, and a considerable addition to his congregation. For many of them, though Dissenters in New England, have constantly attended the services of the church since their arrival at Halifax."[12] And in his report for the next year, 1777, he says: "Three letters have been received from the Rev. Dr. Breynton, acquainting the Society that the number of inhabitants (which usually amounts to five thousand) is greatly increased in that mission; as it hath been for some time the only asylum for loyalists; and many of these refugees, from being rigid Dissenters, were become regular communicants."

The appearance St. Paul's congregation must have presented on Sundays, after the Revolution had passed and Halifax with its population increased with a good deal of the best blood and breeding of Boston had settled into something like quiet ways, we may easily picture to ourselves. The Rev. Henry Wilder Foote in his History of King's Chapel has given us alluring glimpses of the outward brilliancy of the pre-Revolutionary congregation that on Sundays thronged that historic church. In an earlier chapter we have quoted exactly much of Mr. Foote's description of the scene King's Chapel commonly presented. At the time of service, chariots with liveried black coachmen and footmen (for most of Boston's pre-Revolutionary aristocrats kept slaves) would be seen rolling up to the church door on Tremont street, bearing fine gentlemen merchants or judges or councillors or other officers of the Crown, in powdered wigs and rich brocaded waistcoats and lace ruffles and velvet knee-breeches and swords and gold or silver buckled shoes. Beside them would be their wives and daughters, only slightly more magnificent than

12. The report goes on to say: "The peculiar situation of those unhappy fugitives, who had been obliged to leave their friends, part of their families, and most of their substance behind them, justly claimed all his [Dr. Breynton's] attention; and from a principle of duty he hath exerted himself in a singular manner to soften and alleviate their banishment by every civility and consolation in his power."

the men, the heavy silks or satins in which they were arrayed rustling stiffly or hanging in rich folds as they passed from their carriages into the church. From their necks and elbows rare lace would be falling, on their heads would rest plumed bonnets of great elegance, surmounting their high-dressed coiffures. In the Governor's raised pew, on the School Street side of the church, with its red curtains and canopy-roof would be seen the chief representative in the province of royalty, in brave uniform, some visiting titled Englishman or British army officer of rank, in red tunic, gold lace, and epaulets, very likely sitting beside him. In various pews along the middle and side aisles would be the families who composed the most important set of the local aristocracy, the James Apthorps, Robert Auchmutys, Thomas Brinleys, Gilbert and Lewis DeBloises, George Ervings, Sylvester Gardiners, Robert Hallowells, John Jeffries', Richard Lechmeres, Charles Paxtons, Isaac Royalls, John and William Vassalls, and Samuel Wentworths.[13]

After the Revolution St. Paul's congregation was permanently enriched by not a few of the same people who had frequently, if not regularly, worshipped at King's Chapel. But from the first, the St. Paul's congregation had embraced the chief aristocracy of the town. Governors, lieutenant-governors, provincial secretaries, the chief-justice, most if not all of the members of council; and as well, the officers of the army and navy in their brilliant uniforms, had habitually worshipped in the church. The English settlers who came with Cornwallis were, we presume, all Anglican Churchmen, but a considerable number of the pre-Revolutionary Bostonians who migrated thither, even though they had been reared Congregationalists, soon identified themselves with the parish of St. Paul's. Chief Justice Belcher, for example, belonged to a family whose principal place of worship in Boston was the Old South Church, but he, no doubt in England, had

13. See the plan of the pews of King's Chapel and their owners in 1775, "Annals of King's Chapel," Vol. 2, p. 328. James Apthorp had pew 75, Judge Robert Auchmuty pew 25, Thomas Brinley pew 79, Gilbert DeBlois pew 72, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner pews 7 and 8, Robert Hallowell, pew 29, Richard Lechmere pew 82, Charles Paxton pew 4, Isaac Royall pew 10, John Vassall pew 76, William Vassall pew 109, and Samuel Wentworth pew 9, all on the middle isle. Lewis DeBlois had pew 66, George Erving pew 65, and Dr. John Jeffries pew 67, all on the left aisle. The canopied state pew was of course on the right aisle. Almost all these owners of pews mentioned were on Howe's fleet, but almost all went to England, from Halifax.

adopted the Anglican faith. In Boston, after his Halifax life began, he married at King's Chapel, his wife, Abigail Allen, and until the last member of the Chief Justice's family disappeared from Halifax the Belchers were devoted members of St. Paul's. The Binney family, which gave the fourth bishop to the diocese of Nova Scotia, was another of the Massachusetts Puritan families that in Halifax conformed to Episcopacy. Joseph Gerrish was reared a Congregationalist, though his wife was a Brenton of Newport and an Episcopalian, and he, too, naturally connected himself with St. Paul's.[14]

Of other New England settlers in Halifax, Judge James Brenton, a Rhode Islander, not a Massachusetts man, a brother of Mrs. Gerrish, had been reared in Trinity Church, Newport; Miss Mary Cradock (who must have been visiting in Halifax before her marriage took place), the second wife of Hon. Joseph Gerrish, was a daughter of George Cradock, one of the early prominent supporters of King's Chapel; James Monk (probably an Englishman by birth) and his family had belonged to the same church; the elder Charles Morris, although of a Congregational family, had married a daughter of John Read, who was likewise a supporter of King's Chapel; and the Newtons also were sprung from a notable founder of this historic parish.

After the Revolution, we find in the St. Paul's congregation such familiar Loyalist names as Blowers, Brinley, Brown, Byles, Clarke, Coffin, DeBlois, Gay, Halliburton, Hutchinson, Lynch, Pryor, Robie, Snelling, Sterns, Stewart, Tremain, Wentworth and Winslow. A dignified and well-bred throng indeed, it was, that trod the church aisles every Sunday when the Revolution was past, performing their devotions with reverence within the now ancient walls. As great wealth as that of the King's Chapel Faneuils and Royalls and Vassalls the St. Paul's congregation

14. It is uncertain to us whether Benjamin Gerrish and his wife Rebecca Dudley (daughter of Hon. William Dudley of Roxbury) were in Halifax chiefly Episcopalians or Congregationalists. Joseph Fairbanks was connected with St. Paul's, though the Fairbanks family generally in later generations were identified with St. Matthew's. Such families as the Lawlors, and probably the Hurds and others, though previously Congregationalists, in Halifax belonged to St. Paul's. The Fillises and Salters, however, prominent Boston-Halifax people, seem never to have conformed to Episcopacy. The persistently evangelical character of St. Paul's to the present day may very well be due to the strong Congregational, moderate Calvinistic, influence of a large part of its early congregation.

perhaps never had, but Halifax has usually had a rather remarkable share of business prosperity and incomes have frequently been sufficiently large to afford of a good deal of luxury. Especially after the Wentworths were established at Government House and the Duke of Kent was in residence in or near the town, expensive modes of living and a great deal of elegant display seem to have been characteristic of the town's social life. Writing of Halifax in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Dr. Thomas B. Akins says: "Sunday presented a gay scene in Halifax in those days. There being then no garrison chapel for the troops, the regiments in garrison preceded by their bands playing, marched in full dress to St. Paul's and St. George's churches, amid the ringing of bells and the sound of martial music. The carriage of the Governor (who was then always a general officer) bearing his Excellency in full military costume, with his aids-de-camp, drove up to the south door of St. Paul's, the whole staff having first assembled under the portico, which then ran along the southern end of the church. His Excellency, followed by a brilliant display of gold lace and feathers, the clank of sabres and spurs, and the shaking of plumed hats of officers, many of whom were accompanied by their ladies, on entering the church presented a most brilliant spectacle. All this was followed by the old Chief Justice Blowers in his coach and livery, the carriage of the Admiral, and the equipages of the several members of the Council.

"All being seated in the body of the church, full of fashion and dress, the peal of the organ began to be heard, and the clergy in surplices and hoods (he who was about to preach, however, always in the black gown) moved from the vestry up the east side aisle to the pulpit, preceded by a beadle in drab and gold lace, carrying a large silver headed mace, who after the clergy had taken their seats deliberately walked down the aisle again to the vestry with the mace over his shoulder. . . . The sermon in the morning being concluded, the troops marched back to the barracks, and the General and Staff returned to Government House." After luncheon, Dr. Akins says, at three o'clock, the General, attended as in the morning, always reviewed the troops on the Common.

In St. Paul's all the brilliant weddings of Halifax in early days took place, many of these being of Halifax girls of directly British or New England stock to young army or navy officers, not rarely men expecting some day to inherit titles. Of imposing funerals, too, there are many on record in the church's annals. One of the earliest of these, a funeral of solemn state, was of Governor Charles Lawrence, the next governor but one to Colonel Cornwallis, who died on the eleventh of October, 1760, and was buried beneath the church. In May, 1766, another governor's obsequies were held here, this governor being the Honorable Colonel Montague Wilmot, whose immediate successor in the governorship was Lord William Campbell, youngest son of the fourth Duke of Argyle. In November, 1791, Governor John Parr's funeral was held here, and in 1820, Sir John Wentworth's; and besides these were Chief Justice Belcher's in 1776, Hon. Michael Francklin's in 1782, Chief Justice Finucane's in 1785, Bishop Charles Inglis's in 1816, Chief Justice Sampson Salter Blowers's in 1842, and Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton's in 1860. The funerals also of all the Boston Loyalists who died in Halifax probably without exception took place in the church,—General William Brattle's, Theophilus Lillie's, and Byfield Lyde's in 1776, John Lovell, the "Boston Tory Schoolmaster's," in 1778, Col. Jonathan Snelling's in 1782, Christopher Minot's in 1783, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers's and Edward Winslow, Sr.'s, in 1784, Jonathan Sterns's in 1798, Judge Foster Hutchinson, Sr.'s, in 1799, George Brinley's in 1809, and Archibald Cunningham's in 1820. Of Mr. Edward Winslow's funeral in June, 1784, we have a minute description, probably first given in a Halifax newspaper of the time. From wherever Mr. Winslow died, to the church, as we suppose, and afterwards to the cemetery on Pleasant street, the procession moved. First, in it, came probably the two officiating clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Breynton and the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks. Then came six pall-bearers,—Mr. John Wentworth (not yet a baronet) and beside him the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, General Edmund Fanning, both fellow-Loyalists of the deceased; Hon. Arthur Goold and Brigadier-General John Small; and Judge Foster Hutchinson, Sr., and Henry Lloyd, Esq. Next came the body of Mr. Winslow,

probably in a hearse rather than on a gun-carriage, followed by Colonel Edward Winslow, Jr., his son, and possibly other relatives, and by the family servants "in deep mourning." Then walked in pairs, Sampson Salter Blowers and William Taylor, Esquires; their Excellencies Governor Parr and the General of the Forces; Gregory Townsend, Esq., and Lieutenant Hailes of the 38th Grenadiers; William Coffin, Esq., and Captain Morrice Robinson; Rev. Dr. Mather Byles and Captain Addenbrooke; and the Governor's aid-de-camp and Lieutenant Gordon, major of brigade. After these gentlemen walked the members of Council "a number of respectable inhabitants," and many gentlemen of the army and navy. The services in the church and at the grave were divided between the clergymen mentioned first.

The extraordinary brilliancy which the presence of Imperial troops in large numbers, and throughout the summers when warships were in the harbour, of naval officers and men, gave Halifax, almost from its founding until late in the nineteenth century, can not easily be exaggerated. Halifax was for many years before the Imperial troops were withdrawn and the "Dockyard" was virtually closed, the chief military and naval base for Great Britain on the Atlantic seaboard of the American continent, and as such it rejoiced in the presence in successive years of a large number of the crack regiments of the British army and of many of the noblest ships of the British war-fleet. In the general outward brilliancy of the town on this account, St. Paul's Church, of course, to a very large extent shared. For ninety-six years, until the Garrison Chapel, in the North End was opened in 1846, St. Paul's, as we have said, was undoubtedly the chief place of worship for both the army and the navy, and the services there must constantly have been enriched by magnificent displays of military and naval uniforms, and enlivened by the music performed by detachments of the best regimental bands. After the Garrison Chapel was built the British troops for the most part worshipped there, and no similar scene on the American continent could ever have been more thrilling than the movement of troops with their bands playing on Sunday mornings, in the church parade, from the several parts of the town where they were in barracks to the great church where they were to say their prayers and sing

hymns.[15] At St. Paul's, for many years before, the spectacle must have been equally fine, and here in larger numbers than in the later Garrison Church were mingled with the troops the dignified and cultured citizens of Halifax who represented the town's and indeed the province of Nova Scotia's most aristocratic social life. "The first British infantry regiments to attend St. Paul's" says Dr. Armitage, "were Hopson's 40th and Warburton's 45th, and the first corps of artillery, a detachment of the Royal Train of Artillery in the year 1750." "In the years from 1755 to 1760," he adds, "there were as many as twelve thousand troops, sailors, and marines, in Halifax under famous admirals and captains, notably Holborne, Boscawen, Howe, Saunders, Warren, and Colville, and generals, Lord Lodoun, Lord Dundonald, General Amherst, and General Wolfe." During the war of the Revolution there were several famous regiments here, "notably the 33rd, the 28th, the 69th, the Orange Rangers, and the 82nd, in which Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, was captain. From the close of the Revolution until 1846, St. Paul's was the chief place of worship of a multitude of regiments, not a few of them among the most renowned in the Imperial service. And not only the line regiments, but the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers found their church home here. "Representatives of nearly every prominent family in the United Kingdom and Ireland have through our long connection with the Army and Navy," says Dr. Armitage, "worshipped in St. Paul's Church."[16]

After the removal of their fellow countrymen to Lunenburg in 1753, the few families of Germans who remained in the North End of Halifax, while welcoming the ministrations which the clergy of St. Paul's were able to give them, still persevered in their allegiance to the Lutheran faith. By 1758, their humble but determined efforts resulted in the building of a simple church.

15. On two or three occasions not long before the Garrison Chapel was closed the writer had the unusual experience of preaching to the troops there, and he can never forget the thrill the music gave him as the bands of the various detachments of soldiers approached the church, nor the uplift of the scene as he looked down from the high pulpit into the faces of the great soldier audience. The singing of the men, too, was stirring beyond description.

16. The quotations we have given from Archdeacon Armitage will be found in St. Paul's Year Book for 1910. The list of regiments he gives (on pages 50-52) as having worshipped in St. Paul's he says were furnished him by Messrs. Harry Piers and Arthur Fenerty.

they named St. George's, where in the absence of a minister their schoolmaster every Sunday read a sermon and some prayers, while the congregation with true piety joined in singing their native German hymns. On the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1758, they organized a church, but they were then and always dependent upon the priests of St. Paul's to administer to them the Holy Communion and give such other ministration as according to the rules of their church laymen could not properly give. At the opening service in St. George's the sermon was preached in German by a Mr. Slater, a visiting English army chaplain, his double text being Isaiah 48:17, 18, and Hosea 9:12. The consecration of the church, however, did not take place until March, 1760, when Dr. Breynton was the chief if not the only officiating clergyman. At last after New York was evacuated in the Revolution, an educated German Loyalist clergyman, Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal, who had for over ten years been pastor of a Lutheran church in New York, came to the town, and possibly raised hopes in the hearts of the faithful Lutherans that he would remain and minister to them in their own way. It seems likely that he did so minister for a few months, but by 1785 he, like Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Burger, had gone over to Anglicanism, and as an Anglican priest in that year he came back to this German parish in the North End. The parish now, whether with the approval of the entire congregation or not, became absorbed by the Church of England. On the 10th of April, 1800, the corner stone of the present Anglican St. George's Church, the "Round Church," was laid, the Duke of Kent performing this office. In the midst of the graves of the early German Christians in Halifax, the little "Chicken-Cock Church," as it is familiarly called, the first St. George's, in which these foreigners worshipped, still stands, a monument to the earnest piety and persistent energy of the little emigrant band, whose characteristic religious confidence was expressed often in the great Luther's hymn they sang, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.* The Rev. Bernard Michael Houseal died in Halifax on the ninth of March, 1799.

Of the chief minister of St. Paul's throughout the most picturesque period of this church's history, the period which

covers the whole time of the Revolution and a few years beyond, some further account must here be given. The Rev. John Breynton was born in Montgomeryshire, Wales, probably about 1718, received his early schooling somewhere in Shropshire, at nineteen entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, and from this university in 1741 received his bachelor's degree. In 1742 he was ordained and became chaplain in the navy, and for several years thereafter he officiated on the warships *Robust, Nonsuch,* and *Chatham.* In one of these ships or some other of Sir Peter Warren's fleet, in 1745 he came to the first siege of Louisburg, and it would seem that he remained there for four years. At any rate he was there in June, 1749, for on the third of that month he signed at Louisburg a testimonial to the good character of the Rev. Thomas Wood. In 1752 he was sent to assist Mr. Tutty at Halifax, and the following year, as we have seen, he became rector of St. Paul's.[17] In this capacity he laboured faithfully in Halifax until 1785, when he returned to England, possibly in a somewhat uncertain state of mind as to whether he would ever come back to his charge, but desiring to keep the St. Paul's rectorship still. It is said that at one time, we suppose during a visit he made to England in 1770 and 1771, he was made chaplain extraordinary to Queen Charlotte, and that he preached before her in German, which language he had learned after he was forty years old. After 1785 he never returned to Halifax, but he kept the rectorship of St. Paul's until 1791. His death took place in London on the fifteenth of July, 1799. On the sixth of April, 1770, he received from Oxford University the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Precisely when Dr. Breynton married first we do not know, but it was probably just before he came as curate to Halifax. His wife's first name was Elizabeth, but of her family name we are ignorant. She died at Halifax September thirteenth, 1778, and

17. "St. Paul's Sunday School," says Ven. Dr. Armitage, the present Rector of St. Paul's Church, "was founded by Rev. Dr. Breynton about 1783. It is one of the oldest Sunday Schools with a continuous existence in the world, and is today the largest in the Maritime Provinces. Its foundation was only a year or so later than the work of Raikes, the founder of Sunday Schools at Gloucester, England, 1780. The movement obtained a footing in the United States only in 1791, when Sunday Schools were inaugurated at Philadelphia under the leadership of Bishop White." *Year Book of St. Paul's Church for* 1910.

was buried from St. Paul's, September fifteenth. Between 1753 and 1768, she bore seven or eight children. Dr. Breynton married, secondly, in Halifax, on the sixth of September, 1779, the widow of Hon. Joseph Gerrish, a member of the Council, one of the Boston pre-Revolutionary settlers in the town. Mrs. Gerrish was originally Mary Cradock, of Boston, and she was the Hon. Joseph Gerrish's second wife.[18]

Dr. Breynton has passed into Nova Scotia history as an earnest, faithful clergyman and a sympathetic, kindly Christian man. Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher lived, of course, in very close relations with him, and this eminent parishioner of his, pronounces him a man of "perfect good acceptance" in the community, "indefatigable labors," "experienced assiduity," and great moderation. "He was," says Dr. Hill, "the personal friend and counsellor of the successive Governors and Lieutenant Governors, the associate and adviser of all others in authority, the friend and helper of the poor, the sick, and afflicted, and the promoter and supervisor of education." He tried to promote the

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18. The second Mrs. Breynton, who was the eldest daughter of Hon. George and Mary (Lyde) Cradock of Boston, was born May 18, 1723. She had sisters, Elizabeth, wife of Hon. Thomas Brinley, a refugee with Howe's fleet (who was a first cousin of his wife); Catherine, married to Nathaniel Brinley of Boston, Natick, and Tyngsborough, Mass.; and Miss Sarah Cradock of Boston, who made her will July 10, 1798, and in it mentioned Dr. and Mrs. Breynton. Sept. 21, 1791, Dr. Breynton and his wife Mary, Elizabeth Brinley, widow, and Sarah Cradock, spinster, "all of Edgeware Road in the parish of Marybone, Co. of Middlesex," England, sold a certain property in Boston to Nathaniel Brinley and his wife Catharine, for five pounds.

Many of the intimate details of Dr. Breynton's life we have received from Miss Beatrice Hurst of Horsham Park, Sussex, England, one of his descendants. Miss Hurst gives Trefeglawys, Montgomeryshire, as the place of her ancestor's birth, and says that he went to some school or schools, she does not know what, in Shropshire. His mother, "old Mrs. Breynton," died at Trefeglawys in the spring of 1779, aged at least eighty-three. In a list of English ships at the first siege of Louisburg given by Mr. C. Ochiltree Macdonald in his book "The Last Siege of Louisburg" (p. 10), the *Robust Nonsuch,* and *Chatham* do not appear. Neither, however, does the *Eesham*, which we know was there, in command of Captain Philip Durell, who later became an admiral. For the letter of testimonial to Mr. Wood signed by Dr. Breynton at Louisburg, see *Bicentenary Sketches* by Canon Vernon, pp. 46, 47.

It seems probable that the ship on which Dr. Breynton served longest and last was the *Robust,* for on the 28th of August, 1781, he wrote his son-in-law, Captain Eliot, from Halifax: "I have reason to believe that the 'Robust' Ship of War will return to Europe this fall and be paid off, and as I have two yrs. pay due from that ship I have armed my agent with proper certificates to appear at the Pay table on my behalf. The amount is abt. £250. Mr. Ommaney will lay before you his difficulties respecting my pay for the 'Nonsuch' and 'Chatham,' the whole amounting to £160 more or less."

welfare of the ignorant Micmacs, he influenced the starting of missions among the New England settlers throughout the province who came in 1760 and 1761, he did all he could to alleviate the distresses of the Loyalists and give them comfort in their exile from their native homes, and his attitude towards clergymen of other denominations seems to have been uniformly friendly and kind. The hospitality he extended towards the Congregationalists in giving them the use of St. Paul's church until their own house of worship could be built no doubt arose from not only the generous nature of the man but the reasonable conviction that no one scheme of ecclesiasticism has exclusive divine sanction, but that all orderly churches are equally commissioned by God to do the world good. When Freeborn Garrison, one of the earliest apostles of Methodism in the Maritime Provinces, came to Halifax in 1785 to promote spiritual religion there, Dr. Breynton received him with great kindness. "You are on a blessed errand," he said, "I will do what I can to assist you. I desire to see the Gospel spread;"[19] and the testimony of a later Methodist missionary, the Rev. William Bennett, was that he never knew a man so universally regretted as Dr. Breynton was when he left the province, "every individual of every denomination" being sorry to see him go. "A person who during a residence of upwards of twenty years in this Province has deservedly gained the good will and esteem of men of all ranks and persuasions," was the description of him once given by some man not of his own communion. "He preaches the Gospel of peace and purity, with an eloquence of language and delivery far beyond anything I ever heard in America." At the annual meeting of the "Church Society" which took place in St. Paul's in 1770, says Dr. Thomas B. Akins, "the dissenting ministers all attended at the church to hear the doctor preach his Visitation Sermon."

With the five New England Episcopal clergymen who came to Halifax either a little before or under the immediate protection of Howe's fleet, and with at least two others who came later, Dr. Breynton had very close relations. The Dean of the New Eng-

19. "History of the Methodist Church within the Territories embraced in the late Conference of Eastern British America." Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith (1877), Vol. 1, p. 155.

land Episcopal clergy was the venerable Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, of King's Chapel, and in his first report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel after he fled from Boston this aged clergyman testified feelingly to Dr. Breynton's kindness to him: "I am now at Halifax," he says, "but without any means of support except what I receive from the benevolence of the worthy Dr. Breynton." To Dr. Walter, Dr. Byles, Mr. Troutbeck, and Mr. Badger, Dr. Breynton was no doubt, so far as they needed help, equally kind,[20] and there was one needy New England clergyman, who fled to Halifax later than the others, to whom he was conspicuously a friend. This clergyman was the Rev. Jacob Bailey, who like the greater number of the Episcopal clergy of New England before the Revolution had been reared a Congregationalist. Jacob Bailey was born in Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1731, and graduated at Harvard in 1755. For some years after leaving college he preached as a Congregational minister, but in 1760 he went to England to take orders in the Episcopal Church. Ordained deacon by the Bishop of Rochester, and Priest by the Bishop of Peterborough, he then returned to New England and began missionary work at Pownalborough, Maine. As the Revolution progressed, his situation as an Episcopal

20. In all, as a result of the Revolution, twenty-eight Episcopal clergyman took refuge in Nova Scotia: John Agnew, Samuel Andrews, Oliver Arnold, Moses Badger, Jacob Bailey, John Beardsley, George Bissett, Isaac Browne, ——— Brudenell, Mather Byles, Henry Caner, Richard Samuel Clarke, William Clarke, Samuel Cooke, Nathaniel Fisher, John Rutgers Marshall, Jonathan Odell, George Panton, John Hamilton Rowland, James Sayre, John Sayre, James Scovil, Epenetus Townsend, Roger Viets, William Walter, Joshua Wingate Weeks, John Wiswall, and Isaac Wilkins (the latter, however, not a clergyman until after he returned to New York). Of these men, eight were graduates of Harvard, seven of Yale, six of Columbia, and one at least of Princeton, while only two were educated in Britain. The New England Episcopal clergy at the time of the Revolution were almost all native New Englanders, and the great majority had been reared Congregationalists. Of the five who came a little before or with Howe's fleet to Halifax, Badger, Byles, and Walter were graduates of Harvard, and Caner was a graduate of Yale. Troutbeck alone was an Englishman. Bailey and Weeks who came in 1779, and Wiswall, who came in 1782, were also Harvard men. From Halifax Moses Badger went to New York; after the Revolution he was Rector of the church that had been King's Chapel, in Providence. Dr. Henry Caner soon left Halifax for England, and so did John Troutbeck. Both died abroad. Mather Byles, as we shall show, staid in Halifax for thirteen years, then he settled in St. John. Dr. William Walter went from Halifax to New York, and in 1783 settled at Shelburne, Nova Scotia. In 1791 he returned finally to Boston, and the next year became Rector of Christ Church, in which position he died December 5, 1800. Jacob Bailey died at Annapolis Royal in 1808; John Wiswall died in Wilmot, Annapolis County, in 1812. Sketches of all these men will be found in the writer's "Church of England in Nova Scotia."

clergyman and a sympathizer with the Crown became more and more intolerable and at last in a state of destitution he and his family got on board a small vessel at Kennebec and sailed for Halifax.

The sufferings in the Revolution of no one of the Loyalist clergy have been recorded with greater minuteness than have Mr. Bailey's in the journal he himself kept and the letters of his that have been preserved. And his portrayals of these sufferings are exceedingly graphic. The picture Halifax presented to him as he sailed up the harbour when he was first exiled he also reproduces for us in a vivid way. After describing the outer entrance to the harbour he says: "As we advanced still further from the ocean, the town began gradually to open, and we had in prospect several strong fortifications, as the Eastern Battery, George's Fort, and strong ramparts upon the neighbouring heights, with all their terrible apparatus of cannon and mortars. When we arrived near the above mentioned Island of St. George's we had a most advantageous, striking view of this northern capital, stretching a mile and a half upon the eastern ascent of an extensive hill, while a large collection of shipping lay either contiguous to the wharves, or elsewhere riding, with the British colors flying, in the channel, a sight which instantly inspired us with the most pleasing sensations."

The vessel on which he and his party were, he says, came to anchor at a wharf near the Pontac tavern, but before they reached the shore the people on deck were conscious that their "uncouth habits and uncommon appearance had by this time attracted the notice of multitudes, who flocked towards the water to indulge their curiosity." "These inquisitive strangers," he continues, "threw us into some confusion, and to prevent a multitude of impertinent interrogations, which might naturally be expected by persons in our circumstances, I made the following public declaration, standing on the quarter deck: 'Gentlemen, we are a company of fugitives from Kennebeck, in New England, driven by famine and persecution to take refuge among you, and therefore I must entreat your candor and compassion to excuse the meanness and simplicity of our dress.' "

After they anchored, "I at that moment discovered among the

gathering crowd, Mr. Kitson [probably Kidston], one of our Kennebeck neighbors, running down the street to our assistance. He came instantly on board, and after mutual salutations helped us on shore. Thus, just a fortnight after we left our own beloved habitation we found ourselves landed in a strange country, destitute of money, clothing, dwelling or furniture, and wholly uncertain what countenance or protection we might obtain from the governing powers. Mr. Kitson kindly offered to conduct us either to Mr. Brown's or Capt. Callahan's; and just as we had quitted our vessel, Mr. Moody, formerly clerk to the King's Chapel, appeared to welcome our arrival."

If Mr. Bailey could describe with bitterness the ill-treatment he received at the hands of the Maine "patriots," he could also describe with humour the grotesque appearance he and his forlorn party made when they reached Halifax and walked through the streets. "As it may afford some diversion to the courteous reader," he goes on to say, "I will suspend my narration a few moments to describe the singularity of our apparel, and the order of our procession through the streets, which were surprisingly contrasted by the elegant dresses of the gentlemen and ladies we hapened to meet in our lengthy ambulation. And here I am confoundedly at a loss where to begin, whether with Capt. Smith or myself, but as he was a faithful pilot to this haven of repose, I conclude it is no more than gratitude and complaisance to give him the preference. He was clothed in a long swingling threadbare coat, and the rest of his habit displayed the venerable signatures of antiquity, both in the form and materials. His hat carried a long peak before, exactly perpendicular to the longitude of his acquiline nose.

"On the right hand of this sleek commander shuffled along your very humble servant, having his feet adorned with a pair of shoes which sustained the marks of rebellion and independence. My legs were covered with a thick pair of blue woolen stockings, which had been so often mended and darned by the fingers of frugality that scarce an atom of the original remained. My breeches, which just concealed the shame of my nakedness, had formerly been black, but the colour being worn out by age nothing remained but a rusty grey, bespattered with

lint and bedaubed with pitch. Over a coarse tow and linen shirt, manufactured in the looms of sedition, I sustained a coat and waistcoat of the same dandy grey russet, and to secrete from public inspection the innumerable rents, holes, and deformities which time and misfortunes had wrought in these ragged and weather-beaten garments, I was furnished with a blue surtout, fretted at the elbows, worn at the button-holes, and stained with a variety of tints, so that it might truly be styled a coat of many colours, and to render this external department of my habit still more conspicuous and worthy of observation, the waist descended below my knees, and the skirts hung dangling about my heels; and to complete the whole, a jaundice-coloured wig, devoid of curls, was shaded by the remnants of a rusty beaver, its monstrous brim replete with notches and furrows, and grown limpsy by the alternate inflictions of storm and sunshine, lopped over my shoulders and obscured a face meagre with famine and wrinkled with solicitude.

"My consort and niece came lagging behind at a little distance, the former arrayed in a ragged baize night-gown, tied round her middle with a woolen string instead of a sash; the latter carried upon her back the tattered remains of an hemlock-coloured linsey-woolsey, and both their heads were adorned with bonnets composed of black moth-eaten stuff, almost devoured with the teeth of time. I forgot to mention their petticoats, jagged at the bottom, distinguished by a multitude of fissures, and curiously drabbled in the mud, for a heavy rain was now beginning to set in."

The destination of the party was "Captain Callahan's," nearly half a mile from the wharf where they had landed. The Callahans like "Mr. Kitson" had been neighbors and intimate friends of the Baileys at Kennebec, and when the latter reached the Callahan house the welcome they received was affecting. Soon Mr. Thomas Brown and Mr. Martin Gay, both refugees from Boston, came to welcome the clergyman and his family. A few minutes after they arrived, came "the polite and generous Dr. Breynton," rector of St. Paul's. "He addressed us," says Mr. Bailey, "with that ease, freedom, and gentleness peculiar to himself. His countenance exhibited a most finished picture of compassionate good

nature, and the effusions of tenderness and humanity glistened in his venerable eyes when he had learned part of our history. He kindly assured us that he most heartily congratulated us upon our fortunate deliverance from tyranny, oppression, and poverty, and he declared that we might depend on his attention and assistance to make us comfortable and happy. The turn of his features, and the manner of his expression afforded a convincing evidence of his sincerity, and the event afterwards gave me undeniable demonstration that I was not mistaken in my favourable conjectures. Before we parted he informed me that it was expected I should wait upon the Governor at eleven to acquaint him with my arrival, and to solicit his countenance and protection."[21]

To Governor Parr he was soon taken, and both the governor and the legislature as a body promptly interested themselves in him and endeavoured to supply his needs. He was taken by one gentleman's orders to a tailor to be measured for a suit of clothes, so that he might be more presentable, another man gave him a beaver, "almost new," Dr. Breynton procured a house for him on the east side of Pleasant street, "the most elegant street in the town," and "much frequented by gentlemen and ladies for an evening walk in fine weather," and the General Assembly gave him two hundred dollars in money and private gentlemen contributed nearly three hundred more. A few months after he landed he received a call to settle in Cornwallis, Kings County, and thither in October, 1779, he and his family went. In July, 1782, he removed from Cornwallis to Annapolis Royal.

Of the clergymen who came to Halifax with or before Howe's fleet, Dr. Mather Byles was the only one who remained long in the town. One priest who arrived later, the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, previously Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marble-

21. The interesting extracts from Mr. Bailey's journal we have given above are taken from a much longer narration which will be found in "The Frontier Missionary, a Memoir of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, A. M., Missionary at Pownalborough, Maine; Cornwallis and Annapolis, Nova Scotia," by Rev. William S. Bartlett, A. M., sometime Rector of Chelsea, Massachusetts, pp. 365. (Published at Boston by Ide and Dutton, 1853). For further information concerning Mr. Bailey, see this writer's "History of King's County, Nova Scotia," and the Calnek-Savary "History of Annapolis County, Nova Scotia."

The Loyalists Mr. Bailey mentions as finding at Halifax were Mr. Atkins, "formerly a merchant in Boston and afterward a custom house officer at Newbury," Mr. Thomas Brown, Mr. Martin Gay, Dr. John Prince, previously of Salem, and "Colonel Phips's lady."

head, a brother of the Rev. Jacob Bailey's wife, "Sally Weeks," did remain there after he came for eleven or twelve years, but except Dr. Byles he was the only refugee clergyman who staid. Mather Byles was the eldest son and the only son who lived beyond very young manhood of the famous Tory Congregational minister of Boston, the senior Rev. Dr. Mather Byles. A graduate of Harvard, he too was in 1757 ordained to the Congregational ministry, and settled at New London, but in 1768 he went to England for ordination to the Anglican priesthood and before the end of that year returned to Boston as Rector of Boston's now venerable Christ Church. In 1775 he withdrew from the rectorship of Christ Church, intending to go to Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but the troubles of the Revolution thickening and his Tory sympathies being conspicuously strong, he was obliged to remain in Boston under the protection of the King's troops. With the fleet he went to Halifax, where he was soon made garrison chaplain and given occasional duty at St. Paul's, and in Halifax, sometimes officiating and sometimes not having any regular duty, he remained until May, 1789, when he became rector of Trinity Church, St. John, New Brunswick, and garrison chaplain in that Loyalist town.[22] In his St. John rectorship he remained until his death in 1814.

Like his father, Dr. Byles was a man of character, education, and some literary gift. Like his father, also, he was a man of aristocratic tastes and his social and ecclesiastical connections, both before and after he adopted episcopacy, were such as we

22. On the 30th of September, 1776, Dr. Byles wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he had been appointed Chaplain to the Garrison, that he occasionally assisted Dr. Breynton, and that he had under his care two battalions of marines, the women and children and invalids of more than twenty regiments, a large hospital, and a school consisting of nearly four hundred pupils, which he regularly visited twice a week. Since coming to Halifax (in March) he had baptized fifty-four, and had buried fourteen. As long as he remained in Halifax, that is until May, 1789, Byles was nominally chaplain to the garrison, but a great deal of this time his duties seem to have been only nominal. Until the Garrison Chapel was built in 1846, probably during Byles's stay in the town as well as later, there were evidently small chapels or buildings used for chapels in which services for special bodies of troops were held, but the subject of these chapels is involved in some obscurity. At the time of Dr. Byles's third marriage, to Mrs. Reid (Susannah Lawlor), we know from the Byles correspondence that the Doctor had a little chapel somewhere in the town. In any case, for some years he despised Dr. Breynton so thoroughly that he could not possibly have been a worshipper at St. Paul's, much less have officiated there. This will more emphatically appear if we ever publish, as we hope to do, our "Life and Letters of the Younger Mather Byles."

THE REV. MATHER BYLES, JR., D. D.
From a painting by his nephew, Mather Brown

should expect such a man to choose. He was at heart deeply religious, but he was a man of great natural sensitiveness and a highly nervous organization, and suffering much, as he did, from ill health, his temper was frequently anything but equable. In Halifax, for what reason we do not know, he came to have bitter dislike for most of the members of the ruling class, and his antagonism to his fellow clergyman, Dr. Breynton, was especially fierce. How deep this bitterness went certain allusions in his correspondence, much of which has been preserved, enables us clearly to see. While Dr. Byles was in London in 1784, an infant child of his died of small-pox, and both the family in Halifax and he abroad were plunged by the event into deep distress. What Dr. Breynton had done on the occasion to excite the family's displeasure we are not told, but something unpleasant he had done, of which the family wrote Dr. Byles an account. On receipt of their letter, after deploring the child's death the father wrote: "Dr. Breynton's conduct upon the occasion was perfectly characteristic, equally exciting indignation, horror, and contempt. Rest satisfied from me that it is not in his power to do me or my family the least prejudice. My son's behavior was noble and manly, and exactly what I could have wished it. His modesty, his condensension, his prudence, and his firmness do him great honor. It is a mercy to mankind that the greatest bullies when properly opposed are always the most despicable cowards, and though we are taught to let our moderation be known to all men, we are at the same time directed not to give place to the Devil. Well may an old man be peevish when all enjoyments of a dissipated life are past, never to return, and he has nothing to hope for but annihilation. But brutal behavior in a man will not purchase the fate of a brute. I check my pen, conscious that I have said enough upon the subject—perhaps too much. Shortly after Dr. Breynton left Halifax, finally as it proved, for England, Dr. Byles wrote his sisters in Boston: "Two events have lately taken place which are of importance in my history, one is the departure of Dr. Breynton for England, with whose worthless name I believe I have never before condescended to blacken my page. It is generally hoped he will never return; and I trust that I

have bid a final adieu to the haughtiest, the most insolent, avavicious, unprincipled of men."[23]

In his lifetime Dr. Byles wrote a little good poetry, but as a poet, like his father, who had, however, distinctly higher poetical gifts, he could occasionally make his verse the medium for expressing his bitter dislikes. Before he left Halifax he satirized in verse most of the leading public men of the place, while the rector of St. Paul's he held up to conspicuous ridicule. One of the members of the council was a merchant, Hon. Thomas Cochran, a North of Ireland man who came to Halifax in 1761 humble and poor, but who rose by good business judgment and energy to the highest social position in the town. By his second wife, Jane Allan, Mr. Cochran had a family of sons and daughters who when they grew up came to occupy positions of much importance, but he had also a daughter Margaret, his eldest child, whose mother was undoubtedly a North of Ireland woman. In 1778 Margaret Cochran was about eighteen, and in that year Dr. Breynton's first wife died. About a year later the elderly rector, who was probably a little over sixty, married, as we have seen, Mrs. Joseph Gerrish,[24] but in the meantime, if Dr. Byles's muse is to be trusted, the clergyman was foolish enough to set his eyes on his young parishioner, Miss Cochran. Whether the episode of his proposing to her, which Dr. Byles rather discreditably exploits in verse, ever happened, or to what extent the details as Byles gives them were true, we have no present means of knowing, but in any case the following lampoon which Byles wrote for the edification of his friends, but which, however, we believe, was never printed, affords additional testimony to his strong dislike of Dr.

23. The other event of importance in Dr. Byles's history was the marriage, August 3, 1785, of his eldest daughter, Rebecca, to Dr. William James Almon, a bachelor of about thirty-one, a promising physician of Halifax. Through this marriage was founded one of the most prominent of the 19th century families of Halifax. See the writer's Byles Genealogy in the *N. E. Hist.* and *Gen. Register*, for April, 1915.

24. Miss Beatrice Hurst writes that she has found in Dr. Breynton's correspondence the announcement of his engagement to Mrs. Gerrish, they "to be married in a few days." Twice in later letters the Doctor says that "he does not think there could be found in the whole world two beings more happy, more healthy, and more contented than they were." When he wrote these letters he and his wife were living in lodgings instead of taking a house, as every year he was hoping to go to England. He speaks of his increasing infirmities, and of the rigors of the Nova Scotia climate, and further shows a longing to be nearer his children. The salary he receives at St. Paul's, however, was of great importance to him.

Breynton. It illustrates, moreover, as well, the remarkable license in satirical writing that was permitted in the best society in the eighteenth century, a license that we know well to have existed in England in at least the somewhat earlier time of Pope and Swift. Dr. Byles's poem, as it has been preserved in Halifax, is as follows:[25]

ST. AUSTIN AND THE FAIR AGATHENE or "A Cure for Love."

The morning was fair and the month it was May,
And the Pine trees exhaled all their wealth,
When a Parson so good and a Lady so gay
Rode out from the town, their devotion to pay
To the Spring for the sake of their health.

His name was St. Austin, and hers Agathene,
His age was three score and a bit;
The Lady just bloomed, in the charms of eighteen,
Like the Goddess of Beauty and Love she was seen,
And he, like Death's head on a spit.

To a valley they came that was still and remote
When the Saint squeezed her hand to his breast,
Thrice attempted to speak, but a burr in his throat
Stopp'd the way and prevented his sounding a note,
Still his utterance he hemm'd, haw'd, and spit to promote,
And at length thus the damsel addressed:

"By my Maker, Sweet Girl! I'll no longer restrain
The affection which tortures my soul,
For my blood effervesces, and maddens my brain,
Pit-a-pat beats my heart, prayers and fastings are vain,
And my love burns beyond all controul.

"O yes lovely nymph, since your bib you laid by
I have watched every turn in your charms,
I mark'd when your bosom first heaved with a sigh,
And the down on your cheek with the peaches might vie,
Till I saw you mature for my arms.

"Nay shrink not, and seem in this terrible fright,
For I'm sure you can't think me too old,
Pray look at my features, complexion, and height,
And who knows what a cassock may hold."

How distressed was the damsel, she fainted, she cried,
Look'd pale and then red, nor from laughter forbore,
Had her Grandfather's skeleton stood by her side
And thus wooed her, and offer'd to make her his bride,
Her amazement could ne'er have been more.

25. In 1782, Miss Margaret Cochran was married in Halifax to a young Irish naval officer Rupert George, who afterward became Admiral Sir Rupert George, Bart., and her eldest son, Samuel Hood George, was Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia from 1808 to 1813. Six of Lady George's Cochran half brothers and sisters were as follows: Judge Thomas; Elizabeth, wife of Bishop John Inglis; Isabella, wife of Very Rev. Dean Ramsay of Edinburgh; Lieutenant-General William; Sir James, Chief Justice of Gibraltar; and Rupert John, who died in New York.

Still the lover persisted yet nearer to creep,
The Lady his suit to repel
She gave him a push, and his horse took a leap,
When the Doctor no longer his saddle could keep
But into a pond that was muddy and deep
Plump down to the bottom he fell.

Thrice he sunk in the mud, thrice immerg'd to the chin,
And each time that his head he could raise
He was heard to cry out, with deplorable din,
"Oh! Woman, the flesh and the devil within,
Had I never known thee I had never known sin,
And thus died in the prime of my days."

Tho' his heart was so heavy, yet his tail was but light,
So he just made a shift to creep out,
And then, Oh! Good Lord, what a laughable sight,
Without hat or wig, and his noddle so white
Was as black as a coal all about.

Hissing hot he went in, but now rose from this bed
Cold as ice like an eelskin all dripping and slack,
Like Aaron's rich ointment the mire from his head
Down his beard to the skirts of his pettycoat spread,
And thus he jogged leisurely back.

But how the folks star'd in the Town on his way
At a figure so strange and ungain,
Geese cackled, ducks quack'd, asses set up a bray,
The great dogs all bark'd, the small ran away,
And the children all blubber'd amain.

From that time to this, since the story was known
Thro' the whole of the parish, I ween,
How the Parson such wonderful prowess has shown,
Neither maid, wife, or widow, my Lady or Joan,
Would suppose herself safe with the Parson alone,
When she thinks of the fair Agathene.

The only other New England refugee clergyman besides Dr. Byles who staid long in Halifax was, as we have said, the Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks. This clergyman, like his brother-in-law Mr. Bailey, and also Dr. Walter, Mr. Badger, and Dr. Byles, was of Congregational antecedents, and was graduated at Harvard College. From 1762 to 1775, he was rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, from which place in the latter year he was obliged to flee. For some time he was at Pownalborough, Maine, with Mr. Bailey, then he went to England for a little while. Three weeks after Mr. Bailey arrived at Halifax he too appeared there. Very soon, his wife and eight children, who had remained in New England, joined him, and he and they did not leave Halifax finally until at least 1791. During his stay in Halifax he assisted

Dr. Breynton, and when the old rector went to England in 1785 he was given temporary charge of the parish. After 1791, when the Rev. Robert Stanser became rector, Mr. Weeks officiated at Preston, and at Guysborough.[26]

An event of great importance to organized religion in eastern America, and especially to St. Paul's Church, was the erection of Nova Scotia in 1787 into the first British Colonial Anglican See. Until after the Revolution all efforts made in America to secure the Anglican Episcopate for any of the colonies were unavailing, consequently, the Church of England was never completely organized here. When the Revolution had passed, the determined energy of the few New England clergymen who remained at their posts at length succeeded in wrenching from Britain the gift which America ought to have had generations before, and November fourteenth, 1784, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was consecrated in Scotland Bishop of the first "Episcopal" diocese on the American continent, the Diocese of Connecticut. On the fourth of February, 1787, Dr. Samuel Provost and Dr. William White were consecrated at Lambeth, the former for the diocese of New York, the latter for the diocese of Pennsylvania, and on the twelfth of August, 1787, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, who from March, 1777, until November, 1783, had been Rector of Trinity Church, New York, was consecrated also at Lambeth, for the diocese of Nova Scotia. Sailing from England the sixteenth day after his consecration, Bishop Inglis reached Halifax on the fifteenth of October, and a reception at St. Paul's was, of course, promptly accorded him that was entirely in keeping with his own dignity and with the importance of the change in Nova Scotia's ecclesiastical affairs which his coming to the province as bishop meant.[27]

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26. For a much longer notice of Mr. Weeks, see the writer's "Church of England in Nova Scotia," pp. 184-186. He, too, for some reason came under the severe displeasure of Dr. Byles.

27. December 17, 1784, Dr. Byles, in London, writes in a diary letter to his family in Halifax: "Dr. Seabury has not returned from his Quixotic Expedition to Scotland, where he has been dubbed nonjuring Jacobite Bishop of Connecticut. By renouncing his allegiance he has forfeited every emolument from this Country. A Bishop he certainly is, but not in the Communion of the Church of England, and it is much to be questioned whether the Revenue of his See will be sufficient to furnish him with Mitres and Lawn-Sleeves. The Parliament have passed an Act empowering the Bishop of London to ordain ministers for the United States, which is sufficient to convince anybody except Dr. Chandler that there is no Design of sending

More mural tablets adorn the walls of St. Paul's Church than are to be found, we believe, in any cathedral or other parish church on the continent of America, the church has sometimes fondly been called "the Westminster Abbey of Canada." In the twenty vaults beneath the church rest the ashes of a good many of the most distinguished early residents of Halifax, while these graceful tablets perpetuate the memory of their virtues and their useful deeds. On the fronts of the east and west galleries, and in the vestibule hang also rows of blazoned heraldic shields or hatchments, which give additional testimony to the social importance of the church's early worshippers, and lend richness to the atmosphere we find within the walls of the sacred building today.

Quaint records, too, are to be read in the archives of the parish. At a meeting of the vestry on the twenty-fourth of July, 1770, it was voted that "Whereas the Anthems sung by the clerk and others in the gallery during Divine Service have not answered the intention of rasing the Devotion of the Congregation to the Honour and Glory of God, inasmuch as the major part of the congregation do not understand either the words or the musick and cannot join therein; therefore, for the future the clerk have express orders not to sing any such Anthems or leave his usual Seat without direction and leave first obtained from the Reverend Mr. Breynton." Voted further, "that whereas also the organist discovers a light mind in the Several tunes he plays, called voluntaries, to the great offence of the congregation, and tending to disturb rather than promote true Devotion; therefore he be directed for the Future to make a choice of such Tunes as are Solemn and Fitting Divine Worship, in such his voluntaries, and that he also for the future be directed to play the psalm Tunes in a plain Familiar Manner without unnecessary Graces."

An interesting episode of the Revolution in New England was

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a Bishop to Nova Scotia. Dr. Benevolence Muckworm might therefore have spared himself the Trouble of directing your wise Governor and Council to petition against it." (*Dr. Benevolence Muckworm* was Dr. Breynton).

In his letters to his sisters, the Misses Mary and Catherine Byles, in Boston, Dr. Byles several times mentions Bishop Inglis's friendliness with him. April 2, 1787, he writes: "I and my family dined by invitation at the Bishop's. That good man and I are upon the most friendly terms. We converse with the utmost familiarity and confidence, and I esteem myself happy in the connexion. He frequently consults me and our sentiments seldom differ."

the introduction into Halifax in 1776 of the small sect known as Sandemanians, which had had an existence in Boston and a few other places in New England for the preceding ten or twelve years. The sect was founded in Scotland in 1725, by the Rev. John Glas, who had previously been an earnest minister of the Established Church of Scotland, but its doctrines were brought to America in 1764 by Glas's son-in-law and the most eminent apostle of his views, Robert Sandeman, who became a member of the sect while pursuing his studies at the University of Edinburgh in 1736, and whose subsequent prominence in relation to it led to the attachment of his name to it rather than that of his father-in-law Glas. The sect was one of the many fugitive or local sects of Christians that have arisen at various times in the old world or the new in defense of a literalistic return to the beliefs and practices of primitive Christianity and in protest against all departures from what has been conceived to be the inspired views and customs of the earliest Christian age. With certain more or less defensible notions of "faith," and with a firm belief that an exact model for church organization and worship for all times was to be found in the New Testament, they adopted a Congregational polity, refused to countenance a paid ministry, received new members with the imposition of hands of the "elders" and with the "holy kiss," read the Scriptures at great length in their public services, practised the washing of feet, and at the Love-feast, which was held between morning and afternoon service on Sundays, gave each other religiously the Apostlic "kiss of peace."

The first Sandemanian church in America was founded at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May fourth, 1765, at least one man of influence there, Hon. Nathaniel Barrell of the Governor's Council, giving it his strong support. In Boston the first meetings are said to have been held at house of Edward Foster, who at the Revolution settled at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, but precisely when the Boston Society was organized we do not know. By November, 1766, the sect had a chapel of its own, in the North End, and this being burned in April, 1773, its members soon erected another. Eventually Sandemanian churches were established in other New England towns, as Danbury and New Haven,

Connecticut, and Taunton, Massachusetts, but by 1830 the movement throughout New England had spent its strength, although lingering remnants of the sect were to be found as late as the beginning of the present century.

In Boston, always since the downfall of theocratic power a hotbed of new religious cults, the Sandemanian doctrine fastened itself upon the minds and consciences of a small group of somewhat influential people, and when the Revolution came on these people like others had to choose between sympathy with the popular cause and continued loyalty to the crown. The injunction of St. Peter, "Honour the King," they believed to be just as binding on them as the correlative exhortation "Fear God," so at the evacuation they had no alternative whatever but to flee to Halifax with the rest of the Loyalist band.[28] Precisely when or where they organized themselves in Halifax we do not know, but their permanent place of meeting on Sundays was the upper room of a wooden building on the north side of Prince street, between Barrington and Granville streets. In that room, it is said, Samuel Greenwood, one of the chief Boston Sandemanian refugees, suddenly died. By the marriage of two of the daughters of Edward Foster, another prominent refugee, to men of earlier settled Halifax families, the sect here came finally to include other names than those of the founders, but it never increased very largely, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, it was represented only by a few persons, chiefly women. One of the leading members of the sect and an elder was the Loyalist publisher and printer, the father of the Hon. Joseph Howe.[29]

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28. In the Diary of Ezra Stiles, D. D., Vol. 1, p. 502, we find the following: "The Sandimanians opened Shops in Boston on Thanksgiving day last and the Episcop^a at Cambridge refused to observe it; the young Dr. Biles, Episc^o Clergyman, refused to open his Church in Boston, to the great Offence of his little Flock, which are more for Liberty than any Episco. Congregation north of Maryland."

29. From the absence of immediate records of the Sandemanian Church in Boston it is not easy, or indeed we suppose possible, to make a complete list of the adherents of the church there before the Revolution. The following, however, were members: Ebenezer Allen, Walter Barrell (Inspector General of Customs), Alford Butler, Edward Foster, Mrs. —— Cotton, Adam De Chezzeau, Samuel Greenwood, Joseph and John Howe, Edward King, David Mitchelson, Mrs. — Rae, Mrs. Richard (Abigail) Stayner, Isaac Winslow, Sr., and Isaac Winslow, Jr. The last survivor of this group is said to have been Alford Butler, who died in Boston March 23, 1828, aged 90. The society was not wholly broken up by the Revolution, in 1817, it is said, it still had six members.

Drake in his "Landmarks of Boston" says that the earliest services of the Sandemanians were held at the *Green Dragon* tavern on Union Street, perhaps the most noted hostelry of Boston in the 18th century. This tavern, Daniel Webster styled the headquarters of the Revolution. Another account says that the first meetings were held at Edward Foster's house. It seems likely that the meetings were first held at Foster's, but that they soon outgrew a private house and went to the Green Dragon.

The members of the Boston Sandemanian Church who went to Halifax were, *Ebenezer Allen*, who became in 1784 one of the original grantees of Preston, Nova Scotia, and had a tan-yard about three miles from Dartmouth, on what is now the old Preston road; *Edward Foster*, who settled in Dartmouth, and established iron-works there, and who died in 1786, leaving, Sabine says, thirteen children; *Adam De Chezzeau*, whose family in Howe's fleet consisted of seven persons; *Samuel Greenwood* who took to Halifax a family of five persons; *John Howe*, who went unmarried but who later settled in Halifax permanently with a wife, and had an honourable career in the town; possibly *Edward King*, who went with seven other persons in the fleet; possibly *David Mitchelson*, who went with two other persons; widow *Abigail Stayner*, who took a family of three; and *Isaac Winslow, Sr.*, who went with a family of eleven, as also his nephew *Isaac Winslow, Jr.*, who may have taken a family.

At some later time came to Halifax also, *Theophilus Chamberlain* and *Titus Smith*, graduates of Yale College and previously Congregational ministers, but converts to Sandemanianism. These men were probably before their removal to Nova Scotia, members of the Sandemanian Church at New Haven, Connecticut. For conspicuous notices of them see Mrs. William Lawson's "History of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown," pp. 171-173, 199, 205-207. For them and other Sandemanians, see also valuable notes by "Occasional" in the Halifax *Acadian Recorder* for May 27, 1916. For Ebenezer Allen, also, see Mrs. Lawson's History, pp. 108-111. His family in Howe's fleet comprised eight persons. John Howe's name for some reason does not appear in Barrell's list of refugees.

A letter written by Edward Foster May 1, 1782, is said to show that the Sandemanians in Halifax were not thoroughly organized as a church at that time. By 1784, however, they probably were. John Howe was one of their elders in Halifax, and he is said to have conducted services on Sundays for a long time.

For an interesting account of the "Sandemanians of New England," see an article with this title by Professor Williston Walker in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year* 1901 (Washington, 1902), pp. 131-162. Interesting manuscript letters of Robert Sandeman will be found in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See also "Places of worship of the Sandemanians in Boston," by Henry H. Edes, in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions, Vol. 6 (1899, 1900), pp. 109-130. At their love feast each person gave the holy kiss to the person who sat next him on each side. The kiss was regarded as a divinely appointed means "for promoting that mutual love which is essential to true Christianity."

[Since the foregoing notes were put in print the writer has received a few more valuable facts concerning the Halifax Sandemanians. In the Acadian Recorder of May 27, 1916, *Occasional* wrote: "There is a tradition of a division in the Prince street congregation on account of consanguinity. The body gradually broke up, until at last only three ladies, of a later generation, were left. In 1884, an elder, named Blakeney, an artist by profession, came to Halifax. He was the guest of Mr. Crowe, of the firm of DeChezzeau and Crowe. On this occasion Elder Blakeney baptized one of the old ladies mentioned above. The remants of the Sandemanians left in Halifax were among the Lawson and Piers families." In corroboration of this last statement Mr. Harry Piers has lately given the writer important information. John Lawson, born in Boston, who became a notable merchant in Halifax, married for his second wife a daughter of Edward Foster, the Sandemanian Loyalist, and Temple Stanyan Piers, Esq., son of Lewis Piers, Esq. (who came to Halifax from England with Governor Cornwallis), married another daughter, Mercy Foster. Thus members of both these important Halifax families, the Lawsons and Pierses, became members of the Sandemanian church. Temple Stanyan Piers probably continued to be an Anglican Churchman, but he died early and both his young sons, Temple Foster Piers and Lewis Edward Piers, were reared by their mother in the Sandemanian

faith. "My grandfather, Temple Foster Piers," writes Mr. Harry Piers, "was through and through a Sandemanian, yet I think I am right in saying that for some years he did not attend the Sandemanian place of worship, but worshipped at home." This was probably owing, Mr. Piers thinks, to the fact that one of the members, perhaps an elder, had married a near relative, a circumstance which gave offence to some of the stricter members of the church, Mr. Piers among the number. "My aunt, Miss Mary DeChezeau Piers (born 1819, died 6 March, 1906)," says Mr. Piers, "may be considered the last member of the sect here, if we regard regular induction into the church and public regard for its forms of worship as constituting membership. On the other hand, my father, Henry Piers (born 1824, died 24 June, 1910), and my uncle, George Piers (born 1830, died 29 October, 1910) were in belief Sandemanians, and as such were always regarded and always regarded themselves." The "three ladies of a later generation" of whom *Occasional* makes mention, were two, Miss Lawsons and Miss Mary Piers. Miss Piers, *Occasional* says, attended a Sandemanian Conference at Danbury, Connecticut, as late as 1882. Precisely when these three ladies relinquished public worship according to the usages of their sect, *Occasional* probably does not know.]

Some of the Women who Skilfully Planned and Heroically Suffered in the Revolution for the Cause of American Independence

[Concluded]

By J. C. Pumpelly, A.M., LL.B.

THE author of "Women in the Making of America" says: "The American woman of Colonial times was conspicuous for many noble characteristics. She was preeminently courageous and resourceful and able to depend on herself and think for herself. There was no peril she did not face dauntlessly, no obstacle she deemed too great to be overcome. If occasion demanded she did not shrink from tasks and dangers usually falling to men. Yet for all her hardihood and energy she remained essentially womanly, finding her chief interest in her home, her husband and her children."

One Philadelphia lady in the first year of the war wrote a British officer whom she knew well: "I know this—that as free I can die once but as a slave I shall not be worthy of life, and I assure you these are the sentiments of all my sister Americans."

After the battle of Lexington a rumor spread that British regulars were advancing to destroy border towns and as the minutemen had left for Boston and scarcely an able-bodied man was to be found for miles around, the women of Groton, Pepperell and other towns met in convention, elected Mrs. David Wright their commander, dressed themselves in suits belonging to their absent husbands, seized what arms were at hand, marched to a bridge over the Nashuna river between Groton and Pepperell, and there awaited the foe. Luckily, no enemy appeared, but these fair

volunteers, before dispersing, captured a well-known Tory who was carrying dispatches to the British authorities at Boston and took him a prisoner to Groton and forwarded his dispatches to the Committee of Safety.

Bonnie Catherine Greene, wife of General Nathaniel Greene, was a woman of this same courage, sustaining the hardships of that terrible winter at Valley Forge as cheerfully as at an earlier day she had turned her beautiful Rhode Island home into an army hospital.

Also it was *Lucy Knox* who left her Loyalist relatives to share the fortunes of her rebel lover, afterward *General Henry Knox,* who was equally brave and attractive. So, too, was *Martha,* the wife of *General George Washington,* who proudly boasted in after years that it "had been her fortune to hear the *first gun at the opening* and the *last at the closing of all the most important campaigns of the Revolution.*"

When residing in Morristown, New Jersey, I became a member and stockholder in the Association owning the Washington Headquarters property and I never entered the rooms once occupied by General and Mrs. Washington without being reminded of that brave woman's life there and at Valley Forge, in two of the severest winters known for years.

Mrs. Westlake told Lossing, the historian, "I never in my life knew a woman so busy from early morn until late at night as was Lady Washington in providing comforts for the sick. Every day excepting Sunday the wives of officers in camp were invited to Mr. Potts'—Washington's Valley Forge Headquarters—to assist her in knitting socks, patching garments and making shirts for the poor soldiers. Every day, basket in hand, with a single attendant, she visited the most needy sufferers in each hut, and I sometimes went with her. Once in the hut of a dying sergeant whose young wife was with him, the good lady, after giving food she had prepared with her own hands, knelt down by his straw pallet and with her sweet voice prayed earnestly for him and his wife. I shall never forget that scene."

Mrs. Troupe of Morristown has told her story of how when she with other ladies dressed "in their best ruffles and silks" called upon Lady Washington at the Headquarters, we found her knit-

ting socks and with a speckled apron on, while we were without a stitch of work. Her ladyship told us we must become independent by our determination to do without what we cannot ourselves make and *whilst our husbands and brothers are examples of patriotism, we must be patterns of industry.* And 'twas in this spirit women worked at every imaginable task. In Rhode Island many women like *Dorcas Matteson* and *Anne Aldrich* often cradled their infants among the branches of trees while they made hay, harvested corn, or hoed potatoes, while their husbands were away fighting for independence.

In the New England Magazine for February, 1912, Bertha L. Colburn speaks particularly of how *Mrs. James Aiken, Mrs. W. Hawkins, Mrs. Charles Gliddin* and *Mrs. George Reid,* all of New Hampshire, skilfully and successfully managed their husbands' farms while the latter were at the front, and *Mrs. Abigail Butler* of Nottingham, managed not only a farm but a tavern while her husband and two sons were in the patriot army. And of like stamp was *Mrs. Peter Coffin* of *Boscowin* and *Mrs. Abigail Reed,* whose husband and two sons fought at Bunker Hill.

Not a few women paid with their lives for their sublime devotion in nursing wounded and invalid soldiers, and one of these was *Andrew Jackson's mother,* for she was stricken with a fever after a journey to Charleston to carry clothes and provisions to friends on the prison ship in that port. Following the rout and slaughter of Burford's men by the British, she had fled from her home on the Waxhaw and in a ragged tent in the midst of the Carolina wilderness, this courageous woman breathed her last and was buried in an unmarked grave by the roadside leaving to her little Andrew, the future general and president, a legacy of bitter hatred for England and all things English.

Of like determination and patriotic spirit was *Mrs. Esther Reed of Philadelphia;* a heroine who literally wore herself out in the good cause. In the gloomy year of 1780 she organized the women in a concerted and successful effort and raised funds for the relief of Washington's half-clad, half-fed troops.

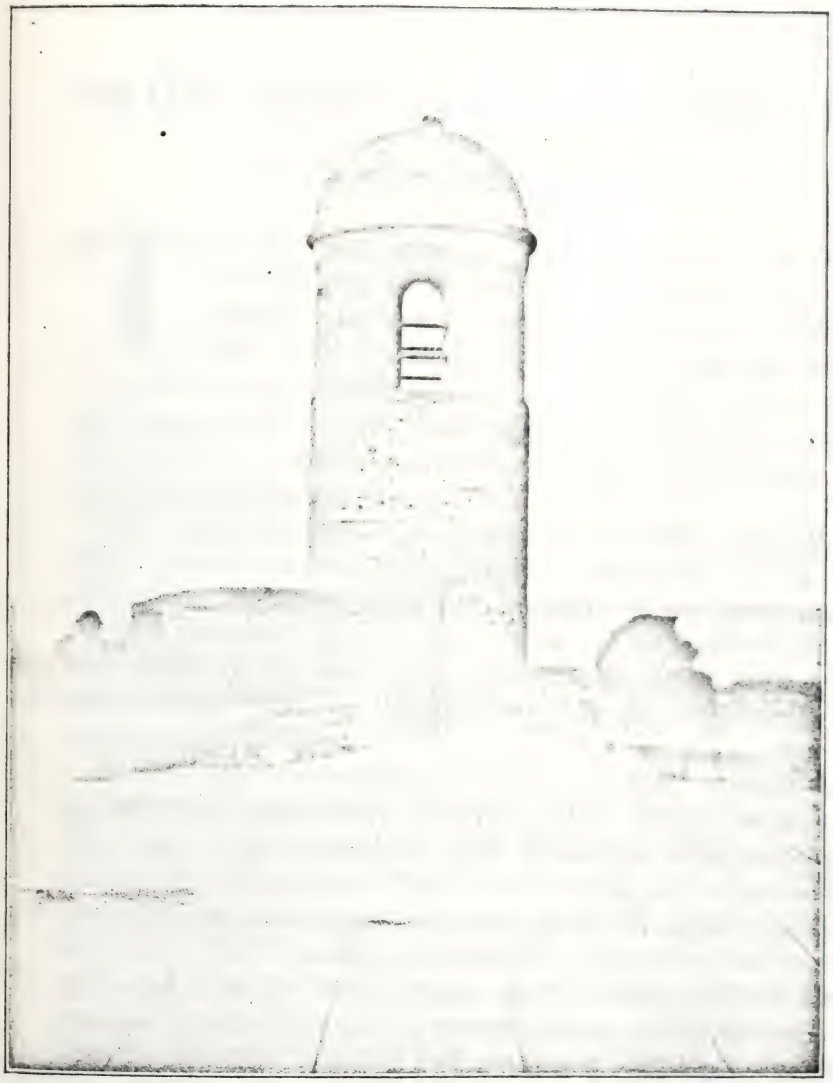
On January 25, 1780, Lafayette sent Mrs. Reed from his wife, one hundred guineas for the cause, and in his most sympathetic letter he says, "I know of one who heartily wishing for a personal

acquaintance with the ladies of America, would feel particularly happy to be admitted among them on the present occasion, and I most humbly present myself as her ambassador and solicit in her name that Mrs. President be pleased to accept of her offering."

Three months after, shattered in health by her unremitting exertions in behalf of the cause of American Independence, Esther Reed ended her earthly career at the early age of thirty-four, and all Philadelphia, loyalists as well as patriots, united in a common grief at her death.

In the lives of female heroism we read of nothing more virile than the account of *Mrs. Jane Thomas* of the South Carolina backwoods. Chancing one day to hear of a projected raid by the British against a patriot camp at Cedar Springs, she leaped on a horse, rode nearly sixty miles, and arrived in time to alarm the camp which included several of her own large family of sons. When the Britishers arrived, though superior in numbers, they were repulsed with heavy loss. Mrs. Thomas was a veritable Amazon, and when her cabin was attacked, she and her daughters and Josiah Culberson beat back the assailants successfully.

It was this spirit that animated *Isabella Ferguson* when she boldly defied her Tory brother-in-law, Colonel James Ferguson, declaring openly "*Yes I am a rebel! My brothers are rebels,* and *our dog Trip is a rebel too.*"



WATCH TOWER, FORT MARION

Until recently the stairway was from the terreplein to the window outside the tower

An Old Spanish Castle in the United States

HELEN ELOISE BOOR TINGLEY, B. S., M. A.

THREE governments have had their opportunity in Florida. The one of these which held it longest did the least for it. Spain expected Florida to be its harvest field both for the royal treasury and for the church. To this end she sought to keep Florida in her possession. To this end she did all the constructive work that was done while Florida was in her possession. Castles and churches are the earmarks of Spanish structures.

The castle now known as Fort Marion at St. Augustine is the most formidable of these Spanish structures. This fort enshrouds a sad and romantic history. Here lives have been snuffed out and hopes buried. Here the tortures of the Inquisition abode in our fair lands. The Spirit of Suffering lurks in every corner and the "handwriting on the wall" tells of grim tragedies of the past.

It was three and one-half centuries ago that work on the Spanish fort was commenced. But the present castle was begun a century later. On August 28, 1565, Menendez established a settlement in St. Augustine. The French having also come to Florida, Jean Ribeaut reaching the mouth of the St. John's river on the same day that Menendez reached St. Augustine, there was danger of attack by both French and Indians. When Menendez reached Porto Rico in his voyage from Spain, he had learned that the French Admiral had captured a Spanish vessel in the West Indies. In retaliation for that hostility, Menendez proceeded up the coast with the decision to attack the French. However, finding his pursuit of the French was futile, he disembarked at St. Augustine. Three companies with two captains were sent ahead to choose a site for a fort. The outline was

traced and a hastily constructed fort was erected. The palisades were constructed of cabbage palmettoes driven into the ground. The platforms were constructed of pine logs, laid horizontally, the space being filled with earth. It had ditches about it and a slope. It was protected with eighty cannon, the lightest weighing twenty-five hundred pounds.

It was fortunate for the Spaniards that they erected this fort, for in 1586 Sir Francis Drake landed his troops on Anastasia Island with the intention of attacking St. Augustine. But realizing the weakness of the fort, the Spaniards became intimidated and during the night abandoned it and fled, leaving behind them fourteen pieces of brass ordnance and two thousand pounds sterling, which had been sent from Spain to pay the soldiers. The next day, Drake hearing of the evacuation, crossed to St. Augustine, plundered and destroyed the fort and then moved on toward the town which was beyond Maria Sanchez Creek on a spot southwest of where Ponce de Leon Hotel now stands. Before reaching the town, a sergeant-major was killed by a Spaniard in ambush. In retaliation Drake marched on to the town, burned it and destroyed the gardens.

Undaunted, the Spaniards, after the departure of Drake, began the erection of another fort on the site of the old one. The new fort was built of wood and earth in the shape of an octagon.

In 1580 the coquina quarries were discovered on Anastasia Island about two miles below the present lighthouse and coquina was used in strengthening and extending the fortification. In 1640 the Spaniards, having captured the Appalachian Indians brought them to St. Augustine to work on the strengthening of the fort. These captured Indians and their descendants were obliged to labor thus for sixty years. And not only these Indians but Mexican convicts and even the garrison itself rendered labor on these works. In 1675 the Governor of Cuba was ordered that if the negro slaves, sent to Havana, had not already been sold, he should send immediately upon their arrival fifty to Florida where they should be put to work on the castle under construction. "The Indians who served as peons were not strong and their people were much opposed to their leaving the planting of corn which is the sustenance of their families. And the Gov-

ernor was ordered upon their arrival in Florida to apply them to this work and relieve the Indians and to finish the construction as quickly as possible."

The stone from the quarries was cut six feet long by four or five feet wide by two to five feet deep. Each was floated on a barge down Quarry Creek and across from Anastasia Island after which it was carried on across bars from the barge to the castle and were put in place on the fort by the Indian or convict labor.

There were two walls erected, an exterior and interior wall, sixteen feet apart, the intervening space being filled with earth well rammed. Two towers were added to its strength. But in spite of its additional strength, the Governor writes in 1656, that he finds this castle in a tumbledown condition on account of its being built largely of wood.

It was with difficulty that the timber for the fort was cut. In a letter dated December 11, 1741, written by Francisco Corcoles y Martenez I extract the following:— "The continuous watch by day and night of the Infantry to repulse the hostilities of these enemies. The heathen not being as bad as the Christians who have risen and commit the most bloody deeds upon all those whom they catch, carrying off Indians as well as soldiers prisoners to the Carolinas, where they sell them into bondage. For the execution of this they have a different set of soldiers stationed at the terminus of all roads leading to the garrison. I am forced to send out troops on foot and horse to accompany any party going out to fell and saw timber for the much needed repairs of the ramparts, gather wood, coal, etc., I began these repairs as soon as I took possession, otherwise the whole thing would have been demolished and left us with no defense whatsoever."

In 1665, one century after the construction of the first fort, Captain John Davis, a buccaneer, attacked and burned St. Augustine. At this time the Spaniards were obliged to abandon the fort. Although Davis plundered, he did not destroy the fort, and the Spaniards returned to it, but with plans made for a stronger, better constructed castle. It is said that Davis did not get much booty as the "people of that place were very poor."

Reconstruction work was begun which made the castle what it

is today. The collection of supplies was a slow process. Like David of old who collected much material for the temple which was to be erected by a succeeding king, so Governor Cabrera in 1680 began the accumulation of timber, stone, iron, lime and other building supplies for a fort which was to be built to the glory of another governor. Several governors succeeding Cabrera aided him in the execution of his plan. A letter written July 16, 1682, by Governor Cabrera expressed his disconsolation over the dilatoriness in the progress of the fort, due to the lack of enthusiasm among the soldiers.

A trip to this old castle is a journey to the feudal ages. It is built in the shape of a trapezium with four bastions and four connecting wall curtains. The bastions are known as St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Augustine and St. Charles. On the bastion facing the sea stands a high watch tower which commands a view of both land and water. On the other three bastions stand sentry towers. The walls are twelve feet thick at the base, nine feet at the top and about twenty-five feet high. A terreplein forty feet wide covers the space between the inner and outer walls. Surrounding the terreplein is a six foot wall (except at the water front where it is lower) which is known as the parapet. This wall is pierced through its three-good thickness for sixty-four guns. Some of the old Spanish cannon are still seen in the court of the castle as well as some of the cannon balls. The ascent to the terreplein was made by an incline which has recently been converted into steps for the convenience of visitors to the fort. Cannon and other heavy articles were dragged up the ramp from the court to the terreplein. Part of this incline plane or ramp is supported by a peculiar shaped arch. Another noticeable singularity in this arch is its lack of a keystone.

The inner court or plaza is one hundred feet square and opening into it with one or two exceptions are the casemates. The entrances to these chambers were guarded by peculiarly fashioned doors fastened with heavy iron locks. Only one of these doors with its ancient lock swings today upon the court. This door is of heavy wood and a network of iron bars, which bars would withhold an entrance should the wood be destroyed by fire. The

wood work of the door has been replaced for the former rotting timber.

The only entrance to the court is through the sally port in the middle of the south curtain. Over the entrance is sculptured in alto relievo by him under whose administration the castle was completed the Spanish coat of arms and the following partially obliterated inscription:—

"Reynando en Espanael Senr
Don Fernando sexto Y siendo
Gov'^{or} Y Sus Prov. ^{a}el Mariscal
de campo D^{n} Alonzo Fern^{do} Hereda
Asi concluio este castillo el an
od 1756 diri^{g} endo las obras el
Cap. ingn^{ro} dn pedro de brozas
Y garay."

Don Fernando the Sixth being King of Spain, and the Field-Marshal, Don Alonzo Fernando Hereda, being Governor and Captain General of this place, St. Augustine of Florida and its province. This fort was finished in the year 1756. The works were directed by the Captain Engineer, Don Pedro de Brazas Y Garay.

The old port cullis is now gone. To the right of the entrance are two casemates which were used as guard rooms. In these are two fire-places, the larger being in the first room. Opening from the inner room is a large dungeon which was used as a general prison. The casemate with a small fire-place at the left of the entrance was the Commander's quarters and the two rooms leading from it were used as quarters for his staff. However, when the bishop came to Florida he established his headquarters in the room, third from the sally port. The ramp leads to the terre-plein from the southeast corner of the court. On the east is a room used for hospital purposes. In a niche on the north side, tradition tells us that eighteen thousand dollars was found concealed. A larger peculiar niche is said to be a place where the dead were placed before being taken away for burial. In the northeast corner is the room known as the pennacarrah. On the south wall of this room are marks where six crosses were fastened. To these crosses prisoners were suspended in chains for

minor offences. In the same room, as if in an attempt to mix the bane with the antidote, were built several shrines.

From the north side of this room leads a dungeon, thirty feet long on the west side, sixteen feet on the east, seventeen on the south, and twenty on the north. Leading from this dark interior by a narrow opening is a room five feet at the east end, seven on the west, twenty feet from end to end and fifteen feet high. This was the torture chamber. Several feet above the floor are the holes where a rack was found. By means of levers, a man placed on this rack could be stretched till his joints became separated, or even until he was torn limb from limb. The iron gate which closed the opening leading to this room has long since been removed, but the stone has been rubbed smooth by its swinging, indicating that the torture chamber was in common use. As if cruelty had not been pitiless enough, another dungeon leading from this one seethes with tales of greater horrors than those yet told. For years this chamber of death entombed its horrors unknown. But in 1835 a small opening thirty-six inches wide by thirty inches high was made by Lieut. Tuttle and Col. Dancy into this chamber of death which had been closed by the Spaniards to baffle discovery. On the west wall are marks where two cages were fastened. In these were found human bones. In the one cage a man had been imprisoned, in the other, a woman. Thus confined, far from the call of the outside world, these prisoners had died, not because of starvation but because of suffocation. A few hours in this death trap would be sufficient to suffocate a person. The dampness in this room is equivalent to that of some caves. In fact, the stalactites pendant from the vaulted roof give it a cave like effect. In the corner of this dismal place is outline of a hole called an oubliette which, tradition tells us, extended down to quicksand and which was used as a place for the disposal of the dead. I have visited noted dungeons in Europe but have seen nothing which stirs the imagination to see the cruelties and atrocities practiced in the feudal ages as does this dungeon in our own country.

Some have believed these two rooms to have been built to cover a secret entrance to the fort. But the plan, proving impracticable, was abandoned and the entrance to the first secret room

walled up. That there was an underground passage from the fort to the church is highly probable. If there was one the Spaniards skilfully closed it before exvacuating the fort, and it has not been revealed to the present day. In fact, I understand that little effort has been expended to find it. That the secret passage to the outside of the fort and the one to the church should emanate from the same secret room is not improbable. In the wall of the last-named dungeon is a stone much larger than the rest. I have been told that no effort has been made to learn the reason for its use. It seems to me possible that it might be the one blocking the passage made to the church. The church stood in another part of the city from the spot on which the present Cathedral stands.

Directly opposite the sally port on the north side is the chapel. The entrance was highly ornamental but time has almost destroyed the embellishments. In the walls on each side are niches for the holy water: the fonts have been removed. Pieces of cedar, imbedded in the wall, mark the place where the confessional was fastened. Opposite the entrance is a raised platform of stone which was used for the altar and above this is a large niche in the wall where stood the image of St. Augustine, the patron saint. In the center of the ceiling is a large square hole, from which spot the rood hung. The ends of the timbers supporting the choir loft are still seen. On each side of the chapel are doors well barred. Prisoners were led to these doors before execution that they might hear their last mass. The iron bars kept them from entering the chapel, lest gaining access to the altar, they should obtain the right of sanctuary.

From the northwest corner of the court leads the council room and from this room, a dungeon used as a powder magazine. Worthy of notice in the masonic construction of this magazine is that its inner walls are absolutely dry as they must needs be. But the surface of the wall between the magazine and the council chamber, is noticeably wet on the side of the council chamber. The powder magazine being a dark dungeon and the surrounding walls and grounds being damp, it is remarkable that the Spanish engineers were able to construct these walls so as to protect the powder from the dampness. I have been informed that

our army engineers have made examinations without being able to determine this nicety of construction. Some of the casemates are so damp that maiden hair ferns grow in rank profusion over their walls at the present time.

Near the top of the wall next the council chamber is a niche with a very tiny aperture. This niche is hollowed in the shape of a human ear and serves the same purpose as the horn of a phonograph, the faintest whisper made in the council being magnified till it can be easily heard by anyone near the niche of the powder magazine. It is supposed that the old Spanish governors whose duty did not compel them to attend all the council meetings, used to crawl into the niche and listen unobserved to the proceedings of the council, acting thus clandestinely that he might learn who of his council were traitors to him. The upper part of the council chamber was in adversity converted into a room by erecting a platform, this room being used by the women and children as a retreat.

In the southwest corner of the fort is the court room used in more recent times (1837) as a prison house for Osceola and also for Coacoochee and Talmus Hadjo. The Confederacy used this room as a prison for Union soldiers during the Civil War. Near the door are three notches in the wall made by Osceola. Using these as a means for scaling the wall, he climbed to the barrel ventilator over the door and spent much time sitting on the window ledge, looking out upon the happenings of the court yard. In the rear of the room is a raised platform which was occupied by judges and other officers when the Spanish court was in session. Over the platform is another barred ventilator. Coacoochee and Talmus Hadjo, when imprisoned in the guard rooms refused proffered food until feigning that the darkness of the rooms made them sick they were transferred to the court room. Here they starved themselves until they had become sufficiently emaciated to squeeze through the horizontal iron bars of the ventilator. Dropping to the moat below they swam for their lives and made good their escape.

The moat was forty feet wide with a concrete floor. At present this floor is covered with several feet of earth. Heavy gates enclosed the water within the moat, which gates automatically

opened at high tide to allow fresh water to flow in and at low tide closed to retain the water. The entrance to the moat is protected by a barbican formed into an island by the waters of the moat. Drawbridges lead to the barbican and thence to the fort. Outside the moat is a level place where the massing of troops occurred. Encircling all except the water front is the glacis, an earth embankment leading to the fort. Dr. Stark describes the ditch as having been at the time of Spanish occupancy completely hedged in with a chevaux de frise of the Spanish bayonet.

This castle in its completeness is considered a splendid specimen of Spanish military architecture. It was one hundred and ninety-one years after the first earthworks were thrown up by Menendez followers at St. Augustine before the castle was finished. Each succeeding year saw its slow development into its final state of completion. In an anonymous letter dated November 20, 1655, to his Majesty complaining of conditions at St. Augustine, is the following:—

"My Lord, in the month of July of last year, there came to this Garrison a party of Indians, who live on the coast near the Bahama Channel with a large quantity of amber, some of which they presented to the Governor, the rest they gave in exchange for goods, and because a few of the soldiers bought some in exchange for clothing he was exceedingly angry. When these Indians left the land he had them followed by two rowboats with soldiers. He finally sent Don Alonzo Menendez with goods that he should bring him all the amber he could obtain, he also sent out others. The Lieutenants were Don Alonzo Menendez and Juan Dominguez and Alonzo Garcia. This trading for amber was carried on for six months. They used up all the iron implements. At first we thought that their implements were broken and thrust aside as worthless, soon, however, we discovered they were used to trade for amber, as well as five hundred tons more of iron which was brought from New Spain. All this was paid for from your Treasury. The amber was sold in Havana for the sum of forty thousand dollars. In the meantime the Fort has been allowed to suffer, it is falling to pieces in many places, the timber that was cut in the forest has rotted and

the troops' time and iron implements are all used in the trade for amber."

In June 15, 1575, Governor Pablo Ita y Salaza wrote to the King:—

"Sire: Having done me the honor to appoint me Mayor of the new city of Vera Cruz and port of San Juan de Ulloa, you still further honored me by appointing me Governor of Florida.

I immediately began an investigation of the state of the Old Castle and the new stone one being made by your order. . . . they continued with many difficulties the building of the new one, as the Viceroy of New Spain has not assisted with the ten thousand dollars a year to which this Garrison is entitled by provision of your Majesty. . . . Having taken the oath I received different Royal Cedules, among them one in which you command the Viceroy to send ten thousand dollars more for the building, and that the citizens and soldiers aid as far as they are able, as is done in other places as the benefits redound to their good and security. I must tell you that they do, . . . From their salaries they have also paid for the repairs of the Old Castle and the furtherance of the new building, . . . I beg you will aid in this building of the Fort, by sending the required means for its continuance. It would be a very great affliction for these Provinces to leave it in its present state. While I have seen many castles of importance and great renown, none surpass this one. . . ."

As late as 1737 the Governor reported:— "The fort has no casemates for the shelter of the men, no necessary elevation of the counter scarp, no covert ways, nor ravelins to the curtains, nor other exterior works that could give time for a long defense, and no cannon that could be fired continuously for twenty-four hours." But large appropriations of money were then sent together with new cannon.

The entire cost of building the castle was upwards of thirty millions of dollars. Upon learning of this the King is said to have ejaculated, "Its curtains and bastions must be made of solid silver." The United States has expended an additional amount since gaining possession of the fort, having constructed the hot shot oven and water battery between the years 1835 and 1842.

This castle has withstood many sieges and has never yet proven unworthy. In 1702 Governor Moore of South Carolina sent an expedition against St. Augustine. A portion of the expedition landing, took immediate possession of the town, but was unable to capture the fort to which the inhabitants, twenty-five hundred in number, had sought refuge.

Neither did the reinforcements of Governor Moore and his naval force make any impression on the fort. After three months' besieging, he retired.

In 1740 Governor Oglethorpe opened fire on St. Augustine from his battery on Anastasia Island. The inhabitants again retired to the fort during the thirty-eighth day siege. This time the fort was not damaged, the cannon balls sinking into the spongy coquina and becoming imbedded in the substance. The only signs of Oglethorpe's attack are some holes on the water side of the fort where the balls entered.

In 1763 Florida was ceded to the English. During the twenty years of English occupancy, Florida became active in the shipbuilding industry, sugar cane growing and sugar refining and general industry. Little or no attention was paid to the fort. It is recorded, however, that it was used as a prison for sixty-one Charleston men, believed by the English to be promoters of the Revolution. Some of these men were closely confined within the fort while others were given the freedom of the city.

From 1783 till 1821 Spain again had the opportunity to make use of the fort which she had built but no active military operations took place here during that time nor until 1835 when St. Augustine now a possession of the United States became an important center of the Seminole War.

In 1875 Fort Marion (for it was rechristened from San Marco, long ago thus named by the Spaniards, to Fort Marion in honor or Francis Marion) was used as a place of confinement for a number of Commanche, Arrapaho, and Kiowa Indians, who had been brought prisoners from the western frontier.

Eleven years later seventy-seven Apache Indians were sent to Fort Marion. While thus confined the Indians pitched their tepees on the terreplein of the fort where they could enjoy the fresh breezes from the ocean. Wise Indians! It is a sorry picture

of the imagination that presents the court a scene of abode for man and beast as well as a store house for the supplies. Here the cattle were slaughtered and the soldiers going to the well in the corner of the court for their water supply probably had to walk in the blood of the slain animals and the filth of the living. Yet the condition of the Indians cannot be compared to the appalling condition of the twenty-five hundred who were confined in this filthy place during Moore's three month siege.

There were several troops stationed at St. Augustine during the Spanish American War. The old fort, that had almost outgrown its usefulness, was to have been used as a place of confinement for the Spanish prisoners of war brought from Cuba, but when yellow fever broke out among them they were sent into quarantine in the north.

A few of our own military prisoners were kept here until February 21, 1900, when they were sent to Fort Monroe, Virginia. Since then thousands of visitors to the fort have been incurring a debt of gratitude to the United States government for keeping in a state of excellent preservation the oldest Spanish landmark in the country.

CHARLES L. SHERMAN

Now of Philadelphia, Pa., the author's "little brother," taken when he was about 17 years of age; he wears the cavalry uniform of a Union soldier of the "immortal sixties" of the century past

Recollections of a Half Century and More

By Andrew M. Sherman, Morristown, N. J.

IX

Home From the War

(*Continued*)

TO SAY that I was delighted to be again at home among my friends and acquaintances after an absence of nearly a year in a strange section of the country and among a strange people would seem to be superfluous.

I have a distinct recollection of the pleasure manifested by my dear mother who then resided in what was then known as Lower Derby, opposite Birmingham, Connecticut, over my return from the southland—uninjured, it is true, but with health impaired in consequence of my service in the malarial and insect-infested lowlands of Louisiana during the most unhealthy months of the year.

Of the great pleasure experienced by me in again meeting and in again having the society of the young lady with whom, during my long absence from home in the southland, I had regularly corresponded, and to whom meanwhile I had engaged myself, I still cherish the fondest recollections.

Those were, indeed, superlatively happy days!

The familiar and fondly cherished scenes of my later boyhood and young manhood assumed a double attraction to me after so extended an absence from them; but how strange it seemed not to see the faces of many of my former boyhood associates and schoolmates, most of whom were then in the Union army serving in various parts of the country and some of whom were in the naval service under Farragut and Porter and Foote in their respective departments.

About two miles above Birmingham, on the west, or opposite side of the Housatonic River, was what was known far and wide as "Indian Well," so named because, according to commonly accepted tradition, the Indians of former days had procured from this well water for drinking and cooking purposes. This well, situated in the woods somewhat remote from the travelled road was fed by a pretty waterfall which came tumbling and rumbling down the steep hillside over a high ledge of rocks, and was very deep; so deep, indeed, that it was said to have no bottom, and many had tried, but in vain, to fathom its depths. I myself often tried with a long, slim tree-limb procured in the woods to find the bottom of "Indian Well," but never succeeded. The water from this well amid the tree-shaded rocks and huge stones which served as a natural wall about it was deliciously cool, and pure as crystal; indeed, it was considered worth a long walk to obtain a refreshing draught from it.

"Indian Well," as might be supposed, had for many years been a favorite resort of lovers and sentimental young people; and not a few interesting romances had their origin in connection with this fascinating location.

Not a few times after my return from the southland in the autumn of 1863 did my fiancee and I visit "Indian Well;" sometimes alone and sometimes in the company of other young people; and the recollection of those visits furnishes rare pleasure to the author after the lapse of a half century and more!

On the Housatonic River near "Indian Well," "the girl I left behind me" on "going to war" and I spent many a happy hour rowing and fishing—but so far as the fishing was concerned, obtaining no results *save the exquisite pleasure of being in each other's company!* In my study I still have a pencil sketch showing two persons in a flat bottom row boat on a river and each occupant of the boat may be seen holding a fish pole with the lines cast in hope of results. The readers of *Americana* will, the author presumes, have no difficulty in inferring what two persons are intended by the specially interested artist who long ago executed the sketch.

On the bank of the river—the Housatonic, the author whispers, in confidence—may be seen, in the aforesaid pencil sketch, a com-

fortable but far from modern dwelling house, painted red, as I recall, which, in those happy days of long ago, was occupied by a family with which my affianced and I were sufficiently acquainted to justify occasional calls, and from which the row boat was obtained for our excursions upon the nearby enchanted stream. To the readers of this magazine this pencil sketch would doubtless mean but little but to the author of this article it revives countless precious memories of those distant years.

It was during my brief stay at home that in company with the young lady to whom I was engaged we began attending the week-evening religious meetings in the Methodist Episcopal Church at the head of the village green in Birmingham. I will not say that we and other young people attended these meetings for purely religious edification; for like many young people in those early days of Methodism in New England we enjoyed the unique language and peculiar physical demonstrations often heard and seen in such meetings. Of this church at the time the Rev. John S. Inskip—an Englishman, by birth—was the pastor. He was an excellent type of the emotional Methodist preacher and hence was more than ordinarily acceptable to the churches of his day.

Mr. Inskip, as I remember, was fond of a good cigar, and he was frequently seen on the street and in the places of business about town he now and then visited, smoking; for he was of a social disposition. It was an unusual thing in those days for a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church to smoke, especially on the street and in public places; and Mr. Inskip's indulgence in the "vile weed" gave rise to no little unfavorable comment, chiefly, however, among the members of his own church and congregation.

It was said that Mr. Inskip once entered the village stationery and book store in Birmingham, kept by a decidedly and sometimes offensively fastidious young man, smoking a cigar; and there being several women in the store at the time the proprietor openly rebuked the minister for smoking in the presence of the gentler sex. It may also be added, that the proprietor not being a smoker, did not enjoy the smoke of a cigar; in other words, the smoke was offensive to his olfactory nerves.

Mr. Inskip at once struck a characteristic attitude and impres-

sively remarked, at the same moment pointing skyward with the index finger of his right hand: "Young man, you'd better put some lead in your coat pocket, or you may be going upward before your time arrives!"

It was not long after the little episode just mentioned that a great change came over Mr. Inskip, and under the circumstances following: He was preaching earnestly on one Sunday morning upon what in those days and in the denomination to which he belonged was termed "full salvation," the condition of possessing which was then termed an "entire consecration." The preacher had reached the climax of his sermon and was urging the members of his flock to make the "entire consecration," when suddenly—this was subsequently related by the minister in giving "his experience"—an inward voice said to him: "Why not you yourself make this 'entire consecration?' " and, without a moment's hesitation and with all the intensity of his wrought-up emotional nature he mentally replied: "I do!" From that hour the hitherto worldly-minded minister was a changed man. He quit smoking; and soon became an eminently successful evangelistic pastor, under whose labors many were added to the membership of the churches he thereafter served in his conference, the New York East.

It was a few years after the change above mentioned which came over Mr. Inskip that I attended a Methodist camp meeting on Long Island where this minister was an active participant. He was leading one of the meetings at which a goodly number of people were present. Among the audience and sitting on one of the front seats was Amanda Smith, a colored woman and a noted and widely-known evangelist; she was fully in "the spirit of the meeting." At an interesting stage of the meeting the leader gave out, for the audience to join in singing, the hymn entitled: "I am so Glad that Jesus Loves Me," and as the chorus was each time reached and as he began singing the first line—"I am so glad that Jesus loevs me"—he would swing his right arm and hand in a wide circle about his head line—"I am so glad that Jesus loves me"—he would swing his clenched fist down on the open Bible lying on the desk in front of him with great force and hold it there

for a few seconds. Such was the enthusiasm of the leader, accompanied by the physical demonstrations mentioned, that a sympathetic listener could feel an emotional thrill going through the audience. Amanda Smith, in particular, was wrought up to the highest pitch of religious excitement to which she gave outward expression in characteristic bodily motions. The impressions I received on the occasion just mentioned—those were the days of my theological childhood, when "I thought as a child and spake as a child"—remained with me for many a day afterward.

It was some time in October, 1863, while I was at home, that my youngest brother, Charles L.—he with whom, in our early boyhood, I engaged in pillow fights—enlisted in the First Connecticut Regiment of Cavalry. He was then about sixteen years of age, and although he was tall for his years he had, like many other boys in those days, to prevaricate concerning his age in order to get into the service. This he did, and was duly accepted as a recruit for the Union army. With his regiment he served until the close of the Civil War, participating in many battles and skirmishes in Virginia, notably in the Shenandoah Valley. Near the close of the war during the series of battles which culminated in the surrender of Lee at Appomattox my brother served under General George A. Custer, the famous cavalry officer, who commanded the 1st brigade of the 3d division of Sheridan's cavalry corps. My brother's regiment was attached to the 1st brigade of Custer's command.

My brother was a witness to the ride of "Phil" Sheridan which has been immortalized in poem by T. Buchanan Reed. With his brigade he occupied an elevation overlooking the route over which Sheridan and a portion of his staff passed on their way from Washington to the front; and my brother has personally related to me that as Sheridan and his staff officers rode toward Winchester, and before it was definitely known that Sheridan was in the vicinity, the members of the brigade felt that something of unusual importance was taking place; and it was not long before Sheridan and his staff officers came in sight, and then the excitement became intense. Sheridan and his staff officers were not in the road, or "pike," as roads were called in

Virginia in "war times," but in the adjacent fields. Although General Wright, commander of the Nineteenth Army Corps, had checked the advance northward of the Confederate army before Sheridan's arrival on the field, his arrival gave to the Union forces a fresh inspiration which nerved them for an offensive movement which, as history records, sent the Confederates "on the run" down the valley.

In connection with the surrender at Appomattox on the 9th of April, 1865, the Union cavalry under Sheridan and Custer rendered effective service in harassing the army of Lee. In one of the numerous engagements which occurred just prior to the surrender of Lee to Grant, my brother personally captured a Confederate captain and received from him his sword; he also captured a Confederate flag. I have in my study a copy of a picture taken "at the front" showing the many Confederate flags captured by the cavalry of Custer's brigade just prior to the surrender of Lee, and among the members of this brigade to be seen in the picture is my brother, Charles L., holding the flag he had captured. The picture, a tintype, was taken in front of Custer's headquarters not far from Appomattox.

In reply to a letter from the author of this article asking for the particulars of the capture of the sword and flag above mentioned my "little brother"—now a "six-footer"—says:

"I still have the sword but not the belt captured with it. The belt did not prove strong enough for my use so I traded it with one of 'the boys' shortly after capturing it. The sword and scabbard are of the 'Chicopee' model, such as were used by Confederate artillery officers.

"On April 6th, 1865, the cavalry brigade under General Custer was actively engaged. Nearly all that day we were occupied—our battle-line was three miles or more in length—in attacking, capturing or destroying the Confederate wagon train and its escort. As our line was greatly strung out it was decidedly irregular and of necessity the soldiers composing it were in small bodies. We did not remain long in any position or locality, our stay depending upon the varying conditions and upon the character of the opposition encountered. Our main object was to prevent, if possible, Lee's retreat southward from Richmond, and to cap-

ture or destroy, as far as possible, men and munitions, as the case might be.

"At about 5 o'clock P. M., of the 6th of April, we encountered, at Sailor's Creek, a large force of Confederates engaged in defending their wagon train, and it was in the engagement which followed that I captured the sword about which you inquire.

"The circumstances attending its capture and retention are substantially as follows: In this engagement we were mounted but we had gone into the fight without any formation, except at the start. Every soldier was expected to get as near the enemy as existing conditions should permit, with as little delay as possible and do all the damage he could in the time allowed us.

"As we met the enemy and they were 'ours' we passed them from to another into the hands of the provost guard in the rear.

"Among those with whom I came in personal contact during this engagement was a Confederate officer, who, after emptying his revolver in a direction where, I assume, he thought he would do the most damage, threw it away, so I could not secure this weapon. As I came near enough to this officer to demand his surrender and ask for his sword, I did so, but he refused to surrender to other than one of equal or superior rank. As my time for parley was limited and as conditions as to safety were constantly changing I informed this officer that under the circumstances I could not meet his requirements. I, therefore, insisted upon his prompt surrender to me or take the consequences, and without further parleying he handed me his sword and belt, and I then passed him, with other Confederate prisoners to the rear and into the kind care of our provost guard.

"In the evening of the same day—April 6th—after the day's fight was over and the day's victory was won some thirty-five of 'us boys' were in line in front of division headquarters, having in our custody the Confederate flags and other trophies captured by the division that day. While in line, one of the division staff officers and a Confederate officer passed along the line, apparently looking for some one; and as these officers arrived opposite me the Union officer requested me to step forward, which I did. I then recognized the Confederate officer I had met, under the circumstances recited, earlier in the day. The Confederate officer had no doubt previously pointed me out to the Union staff officer as the soldier having possession of his sword and belt. I was asked by the Union officer how I obtained the sword and belt. I then recited the details of the capture. I was then asked by the Union staff officer if I wished to retain the sword and belt, and upon replying that I did, I was ordered back into line with the other 'boys.' The two officers

then withdrew; and as I heard nothing further in the matter I naturally assumed that my explanation was entirely satisfactory to the staff officer. So I kept the Confederate sword and belt and now have the sword among my Civil War souvenirs.

"The Confederate officer from whom I captured this sword was, as I was informed, chief of artillery on the staff of General Kershaw, of the Confederate army."

A few years ago the author of these articles was in New Haven, Connecticut, with an older brother, George W. We called at the office of the Surrogate of New Haven County, to meet the gentleman who then occupied that office and who had served in the same company in the Twentieth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War of which the brother just mentioned was a commissioned officer. The Surrogate had not yet arrived at his office; and my brother and I formed the acquaintance of the chief clerk in the Surrogate's office.

While in conversation with this clerk we learned that he was the son of a gentleman who had served in the First Connecticut Regiment of Cavalry, in the Civil War; and upon being informed that our younger brother, Charles L., had also served in the same regiment, he said: "Why, I have heard my father speak of 'Charlie' Sherman. Father now has a blood-stained red bandanna handkerchief that 'Charlie' Sherman placed around his wrist to staunch the flow of blood of a wound received in one of the battles in which the regiment participated in Virginia."

The mention of this interesting episode of the Civil War was the beginning of a long conversation upon the War for the Union in "the sixties."*

My brother, George W., then a commissioned officer of the Twentieth Connecticut Infantry serving in the west wrote me early in the autumn of 1863, suggesting that I prepare for entering the state Normal School at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, with a view to becoming a teacher, and he generously offered to give me substantial assistance in the event of my acting upon his suggestion. This suggestion, after due consideration, I concluded

*My brother, Charles L., has, since the above mentioned visit to New Haven, had delivered to him, by his old army friend, the handkerchief in question; and he keeps it as a highly valued souvenir of the War for the Union.

to act upon; and in the late autumn of 1863 I went to Bridgewater to begin my preparation for admission to the Normal School. I considered myself fortunate in being entertained by my sister, Mrs. Henry Perkins. Arrangements were promptly made with the principal of the Bridgewater High School, a Mr. Cutler, to coach me in the special studies necessary for my admission to the Normal School, then as now, one of the best in the country.

For about two months I pursued the course of study marked out by Mr. Cutler—a most excellent instructor, by the way—at the end of which time I concluded, for reasons I will not enumerate—among them, however, my longing for army life—to return to my home in Birmingham, Connecticut, which I did. This was some time in December, 1863.

Frequent letters from my oldtime chum, Oscar L. Woodruff, to his parents in Birmingham, which letters I was permitted to read, served to deepen my longing to return to army life.

On the 28th of January, 1864, Miss Arrabella Malvern Woodruff, of Birmingham, and I were united in marriage by the Rev. John S. Inskip, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the above named place.

Our wedding trip was to Hartford, Connecticut, then one of the capitals of the state, New Haven being the other capital. Hartford was then as now a beautiful city. In this city we remained several weeks, a portion of which time we visited with relatives of Mrs. Sherman.

Among the incidents of our sojourn in Hartford which is still fresh in my memory was the following: We were one evening in Allyn Hall witnessing a theatrical performance, and occupied a seat somewhat back of the middle of the hall. In the midst of the performance a fire broke out behind the scenes and smoke was soon seen by the audience emerging from the stage. The almost immediate cry of "fire!" "fire!" soon passed through the large audience, and then followed a scene of excitement and confusion which words cannot describe. The greater portion of the audience rose to their feet and made a mad rush for the doors leading out of the hall and down to the street—Allyn street, I think. In the rush for the exit from the hall not a few were

knocked down and trampled upon by the excited human mass. Realizing the necessity of haste in making our exit from the place of amusement I seized Mrs. Sherman by one arm and almost dragged her toward the doors leading down to the street, through which I drew her. It took but a few minutes to reach the street, where we stopped to mentally collect ourselves. We had stood on the street but a few minutes, however, when we learned that the fire in the hall had been extinguished ; and upon seeing most of the people returning to the place of amusement we also followed them and saw the performance concluded. This was quite a unique episode for us in what was then to us a strange city and on our wedding trip.

During our sojourn in Hartford we attended one of the large Baptist churches with Mrs. Sherman's relatives, and here and elsewhere in the city we formed pleasant acquaintances.

Sometime in March, 1864, I again enilsted in the Union army, this time as a recruit for the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry then serving in North Carolina. The attraction to this regiment was my wife's only brother, Oscar L. Woodruff, who was desirous of having me with him. He was a member of the brigade band and played the B-flat cornet; he was also brigade bugler and in battle rode beside its commander.

For a few weeks after my enlistment I performed clerical duty for Captain Lewis—such, as I recall, was the name of this officer—of one of the Connecticut regiments, who was the recruiting officer at Hartford. He may have been and probably was at home on recruiting service in consequence of wounds or other disability received at the front.

I remained in Hartford in Captain Lewis' office until Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel C. Rodman, of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry—who had been at home on furlough in consequence of a severe wound received while leading his regiment in the famous assault on Fort Wagner, North Carolina—rejoined his regiment, and I accompanied him to the regiment. This was in the latter part of April, 1864. On our way south we stopped over a short time in Baltimore, Maryland, and were quartered in Fort McHenry, in Baltimore harbor. It was a rare treat for me to be on this historic ground made famous by the familiar

national song of "The Star Spangled Banner" composed by Francis Scott Key under the following circumstances: "During the tremendous bombardment of Fort McHenry in the war of 1812, Francis Scott Key lay in a little vessel under the British admiral's frigate. He had visited the fleet for the purpose of obtaining an exchange of some prisoners of war, especially of one who was a personal friend, and was directed to remain till after the action. During the day his eye had rested eagerly on that low fortification over which the flag of his country was flying; and he watched with the intensest anxiety the progress of each shell in its flight, rejoicing when it fell short of its aim, and filled with fear as he saw it descend without exploding within those silent enclosures. At night, when darkness shut out that object of so much and intense interest, around which every hope and desire of his life seemed to cling, he still stood straining his eyes through the gloom, to catch, if he could, by the light of the blazing shells, a glimpse of his country's flag, waving proudly in the storm. The early dawn found him still a watcher; and there, to the music of the bursting shells and the roar of cannon, he composed 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' "

In due course we took steamer from Fort McHenry for Bermuda Hundred, Virginia, our brigade having recently been transferred from North Carolina to that military department.*

The brigade to which the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry was attached was, at the time under review, commanded by General Joseph R. Hawley, who had previously been colonel of the regiment mentioned. The brigade was encamped two miles or so outside of Bermuda Hundred in the direction of Petersburg. On the way out to the brigade, guided by Colonel Rodman, the road and adjacent woods were lavishly strewn with knapsacks, haversacks, woolen blankets, underclothing and numerous other things thrown away by the Union soldiers as they marched, on May 7th, from Bermuda Hundred to the front.

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*Bermuda Hundred was a small cluster of houses on the extremity of the peninsula formed by the James and Appomattox Rivers. In the early settlement of Virginia, slaves were located at different places in gangs of a hundred at each point. These settlements were usually designated by taking the name of the place from which the slaves were bought, with the word "hundred" affixed. The gang landed here was from Bermuda; hence the name Bermuda Hundred.

I reached my regiment late in the day and found my brother-in-law and another of my old Connecticut chums—Oscar W. Cornish, who played the alto horn in the brigade band—on the bank of a small stream in the woods performing their evening ablutions after the day's duties, in which I was glad enough to join, for I was much in need of washing after my journey from the "Nutmeg State" to "Ole Virginy."

Our ablutions completed we proceeded to the sleeping quarters of my chums nearby, consisting of a shelter tent, a tent, by the way, intended for only two persons.

After a frugal supper it was arranged for me to sleep in the tent occupied by my chums; so we all "bunked" together in the straightened quarters of a single shelter tent. We had not seen each other since the autumn of 1861, and so great was our pleasure of meeting that we talked—in low tones, however—nearly all night. It was precious little sleep that I got that night! The night was a warm one, the tent was far from well ventilated, and I awoke next morning much depressed in body and spirit.

We had scarcely partaken of our breakfast of hardtack and "salt horse" and black coffee when orders came to camp from brigade headquarters to get in readiness for an early movement on the Confederates in our front.

It was a novel sight, I assure you, to me to see General Hawley flying about camp in his shirt sleeves giving oral orders to some of his subordinate officers. But "Joe" Hawley, as he was popularly called when off duty, was no "kid glove" officer; he was in the army for "business," and it is with peculiar pride that I say that he was one of the most efficient general officers in the service in the Civil War.

As near as I can now recall it was at about half-past eight o'clock on that morning—the 10th of May, 1864—that we marched forth from camp to engage with the Confederates. We encountered them at about half-past ten o'clock near Chester Station.

The day was an oppressively hot one, and between eleven and twelve o'clock, after having been under fire about an hour in "the broiling sun," I was carried on a stretcher from the field by my two oldtime chums, who, as members of the brigade band,

were expected to look after the wounded and those otherwise disabled. I appeared to have had a sunstroke.

Late in the afternoon of the same day I found myself in the field hospital at Bermuda, whither I had been brought in an ambulance from the stretcher.

The following extract from a volume entitled: "Connecticut During the Rebellion" will give the reader some idea of the engagement on May 10th, 1864:

"Hawley's brigade struck the railroad near Chester Station, on the morning of the 10th; when the Sixth under Lorenzo Meeker, and the left wing of the Seventh under Major O. S. Sanford, moved up towards the station, destroying the track. This was done very thoroughly in the face of an alert enemy. Skirmishing was constantly kept up, and the Sixth lost one (Capt. Jay P. Wilcox) killed and twenty wounded. Sergeant John H. Botts, of Stamford, lost his eyes.

"Captain Jay P. Wilcox left Waterbury as a private soldier in the Sixth, but was soon promoted to be corporal, and thence rapidly to captain, for gallantry and fidelity to the interests of the service. He was sincerely mourned.

"In the meantime, Lieut.-Col. Rodman, with the right wing of the Seventh, moved up the turnpike to destroy the telegraph. After a short time, they were ordered forward at a quick pace. 'Arriving at the top of the hill, to the right of and near Chester Station, we were ordered into line of battle on a road leading from the right of the turnpike, and immediately threw out Company D, under Captain Jeremiah Townsend, as skirmishers. We were soon joined by the left wing, under Major Sanford. Two companies, E and H, under Captain John B. Dennis, were immediately sent to support a battery upon a hill a little in front of our line. I then ordered Major Sanford, with Companies B and K, to proceed to the top of the hill and engage the enemy.' "

The report of Major Sanford will be found of special interest: "I threw the right of my line a little forward, and opened fire on the left flank of the enemy, stationed in the woods, and drove them back. We engaged the enemy at intervals. They were trying to take a piece of artillery which had been abandoned by the Fourth New Jersey, and was near their lines. I drove them back at every attempt. The enemy opened with two pieces of artillery; and I sent a request for a section of battery to silence that of the enemy. One piece of the Fourth New Jersey was sent to my position, and immediately opened upon them. I then ordered

Lieut. Charles E. Barker, with Company K, to move forward, and bring in the abandoned piece, which he succeeded in doing. I placed the piece in position, manning it with men from Company K, taking ammunition from a caisson which was also abandoned by the Fourth New Jersey, all the horses having been shot.

"After firing about ten shots from that piece, and as many more from the one already there, we drove the enemy's battery from its position. . . . I was then ordered to take position on the left of the 169th New York Volunteers, where I found the other three companies, under command of Capt. Theodore Bacon, supporting a section of the First Connecticut Battery. We remained there until dark, and then were ordered to camp.

"Of the conduct of the officers and men under by command during the engagement, I can but speak in terms of the highest praise, particularly of Lieut. Barker and his company for their gallant conduct in rescuing the gun which had been abandoned, and was near the enemy's line. On attempting to work the piece, I could find no lanyard; and my thanks are due to Private Clapp of Company K, for the promptness and ingenuity displayed in forming one from a piece of telegraph-wire near at hand."

Lieutenant Charles E. Barker, killed near Chester Station on May 10, 1864, was among my acquaintances in Birmingham, Connecticut, before the opening of the Civil War.

In the hospital at Bermuda Hundred I remained several days. During my stay there Confederate prisoners were now and then brought in from the front, and among them was a major, a typical southerner, apparently of the middle class at home. I well remember that he was so indignant over being a prisoner that whenever he was required to converse with his captors his manner was not only discourteous but decidedly grouchy. I think if he had had a bowie knife he would have used it on some of his detested "Yankee" captors. I can even now see his dark eyes flash with anger as a "Yankee" attempted to engage in a friendly conversation with him.

Among the Union soldiers in the field hospital at Bermuda Hundred was one who occupied his time in making rude gunboats of boards and such other materials as were available, and launching them on the waters of the James River near. It was thought by some that he was feigning insanity for the purpose of obtaining a discharge from the service; but be that as it may he at-

tracted a good deal of attention and some of the inmates of the hospital would now and then go down to the river's bank and watch the launching of the rude gunboats made by the queer acting fellow-soldier.

Of the tents composing the hospital at Bermuda Hundred I made a pencil sketch during my sojourn there and this is one of my most highly prized souveniers of the Civil War because of not a few associations, pleasant and otherwise, connected with my brief stay there.

I think it was on the northern sidewheel steamboat "Mary Powell"—which I have since seen several times in and around New York City—that I, with many other Union soldiers, some sick and others wounded, were conveyed down the James River to the hospital at Portsmouth, Virginia. I remember that the Union surgeon in charge of the sick and wounded taken to Portsmouth was from Maine—a large, fine looking and evidently kind hearted man. I recall his sympathetic treatment of the sick and wounded under his charge.

Among the surgeons in the hospital at Portsmouth, as I soon discovered, was Dr. Benjamin Crooker, whose family I had known as a small boy in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and with some of whose younger brothers I was intimate. It was the younger Crooker boys with whom I was associated in the organization and management of a boys' circus, which was held under the trees in an apple orchard on "the Crooker Place." Dr. Crooker had for many years been acquainted with my relatives in Bridgewater and we were glad to meet in the southland.

As I convalesced I used sometimes to go over to Norfolk, which, as I remember, was far and away from being a neat city; indeed, even at this remote day I can recall, by the aid of my olfactory nerves, the objectionable odors which were in evidence in that city. I remember also that the colored population of Norfolk was conspicuously numerous and not especially friendly to Union soldiers.

When I became able to travel a furlough was granted me through the influence of my good friend, Dr. Crooker.

During my absence from home my wife's parents had removed to Seymour, Connecticut, a few miles above Birmingham on the line of what was then the Naugatuck Railroad.

The joy of again being at home is inexpressible!

While at home Mrs. Sherman and I spent much time in the open air and the hours seemed to be winged, so rapid was their flight.

Soon after my return to the hospital at Portsmouth from my furlough I was sent with many other wounded and sick Union soldiers to the hospital at Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia. This hospital was constructed so as to resemble the spokes of a wheel, each spoke, of which there may have been ten or more, being a ward. In the center, or at the hub of this wheel, was a small park with band stand, and seats for the convalescing soldiers.

I had been in this hospital but a short time when I was appointed librarian of the hospital library, comprising, as I remember, perhaps a thousand volumes, which I catalogued.

It was while I was in the Chestnut Hill hospital that I met a wounded Union soldier the peculiarity of whose wound attracted my attention. In one of the battles in which his regiment had participated a Confederate bullet had hit him just below the under lip, knocked out the front teeth on the lower jaw, coming out at the back of his neck, but on one side. Had the bullet gone straight back it would doubtless have passed through his vocal organs and probably destroyed his power of speech; but taking a sidewise course the bullet came out on one side of the neck at the back. It was one of the most peculiar wounds I ever knew of.

Notwithstanding I became somewhat acquainted with this wounded soldier I did not learn to what regiment and company he belonged nor what was his name. I was especially impressed with the uniform cheerfulness of this soldier as I met him in different parts of the extensive hospital, sometimes in the library where as librarian I spent considerable time each day.*

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*While in the office of Mr. Collins B. Weir, architect, of Morristown, N. J., a few months ago, I casually referred to my having been in the Chestnut Hill Hospital during the Civil War and spoke of the soldier who had been shot "through the mouth." Mr. Weir, to whom I gave a description of said soldier, remarked: "Why, that soldier was in my company in the Ninth New Jersey Volunteer Infantry. Before he was wounded he was one of the bravest soldiers in the company—afraid of nothing—but after being wounded he was cowardly." Mr. Weir, who was a commissioned officer of Company E of his regiment, then gave me the name of this soldier, Arthur Rice, and further related that he died in the State Hospital, at Morris Plains, N. J., several years ago. How doth the "whirligig of time" bring around knowledge of which we have so long been ignorant!

When I was considered able to be discharged from the hospital at Chestnut Hill I was sent to my regiment which was then at Wilmington, North Carolina. In returning to my regiment I went by way of Newbern, North Carolina, and while waiting for transportation to Wilmington I formed the acquaintance of a member of the Eighth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry then encamped at Newbern. I had taken with me from home a D flute which I prized highly. As a means of passing the time and at the same time getting practice on the instrument I took it one forenoon to the tent occupied by my chance acquaintance from the "Nutmeg State;" and after playing half an hour or so I laid the flute on a camp table and went out for a stroll about the camp, leaving my acquaintance in his tent where my flute lay on the table. When I returned to the tent my flute had disappeared; nor did I ever get the slightest clew to its whereabouts. The fact that my flute had gone I knew not where and that I never saw "hide nor hair" of my Connecticut acquaintance afterward was circumstantial evidence, as a lawyer would say, that he may have "been enamored" of the instrument and committed what in legal phraseology is known as "petit larceny." The flute was a black ebony one of eight keys and was the first I ever owned, and I felt the loss of it keenly. I had purchased the instrument of my instructor at home in Birmingham, Connecticut. I have no doubt the comrade who took the flute has since been conscience-stricken many times, poor fellow!

I reached Wilmington, North Carolina, some time in March, 1865, and was delighted to again meet my chums, Woodruff and Cornish, whom I had not seen since the 10th of May, 1864, near Chester Station, Virginia. The episode of my having been carried on a stretcher by them from the battle field in Virginia was gone over in detail by the reunited trio.

Through the intercessions of my chums with the leader of the brigade band I was soon detailed to play the piccolo in the band, the comrade who had previously played that instrument having been discharged from the army by reason of the expiration of his term of enlistment. I have at home most of the band music written on small square cards prepared for the purpose, among which music are not a few choice arrangements from the

best operas. I have also the appliance which fastened around my left wrist for holding the music cards, by the aid of which I was able to read the music while marching.

It was a novel experience for me to accompany the brigade band each morning to an old, abandoned sugar mill somewhat remote from camp for practice. I recall that inasmuch as the end of the Civil War seemed to be in the near future my two band chums and I began to "build castles in the air" for the time when we should be no longer "Uncle Sam's boys."

I must tell the readers of *Americana* about the clarinet player in our brigade band, a jolly German named Miller. He was a splendid performer on the instrument which he had played so long as to have become "a professional." Miller had devoted so many years to the clarinet that the muscles of his neck were abnormally developed of which he used now and then to give his comrades the following unique demonstration while the members of the brigade band tarried in the old sugar mill after our morning's practice: With the soft part of the fingers of his right hand he would give the muscles on the left side of his neck a quick, sharp blow, and the uninitiated observer would think he heard a bag of silver coin jingling. This was one of the many ways the sometimes oppressive monotony of camp life was relieved, hence both performer and audience greatly enjoyed hearing comrade Miller "jingle the bag of silver coin."

The comrade who played the double bass horn in our brigade band was a native of Poland, a goodnatured soul and a fine performer on his instrument, which by the way, was nearly as large as Zabriskie, for that was the euphonious name by which the comrade was known. I can sometimes almost hear again the rich tones of Zabriskie's double bass horn as he blew it in the old, abandoned sugar mill in Wilmington, North Carolina, fifty-one years ago.

Among the especial pleasures experienced by the members of our brigade band while in Wilmington were the occasional serenades we gave to our beloved brigade commander, General Joseph R. Hawley, at his headquarters. It is scarcely necessary for me to add that "Joe" Hawley never failed to substantially

acknowledge the courtesy extended to him by the brigade band on the occasions mentioned.

It was through the influence of some of the members of my regiment who knew of my connection with amateur theatricals at home that while at Wilmington, North Carolina, I was engaged by the stage manager of the local theatre to take the leading part in the play of "The Poachers," which I did. As a matter of course my friends in the regiment and especially in the brigade band attended the theatre on the evening of "my appearance" which had been duly announced in the local press and by big posters. The leading female character in the play was well enacted by the wife of the stage manager of the theatre.

While subsequently standing on the front steps of the Wilmington theatre preparatory to entering to witness a performance by the stock company the news of the assassination of President Lincoln reached the city and became known to the Union soldiers there stationed. I have a most vivid recollection of my emotions as the news fell upon my ears. *It seemed to me as if a dense black cloud had suddenly settled down like a pall upon the earth.* The particulars of the dastardly act which reached us a day or so afterward only deepened the sorrow of the Union soldiers of our military department. Expressions of indignation and horror were frequent and intense. It was several days before we recovered from the great shock experienced in consequence of the untimely cutting off of our beloved President—*the soldier's unfailing friend.*

It may have been about the first part of June, 1865, that our brigade and, indeed, the bulk of the Union forces at Wilmington, was ordered to Goldsboro, North Carolina, whither we went by rail. It was not long before our brigade camp was established in that railroad center of perhaps two thousand inhabitants. Our tents, shelter tents, accommodating two persons, were pitched in a copse of immense pine trees. I recall that our tent—I tented with my brother-in-law—was pitched so that when we laid down our feet sometimes came in contact with the trunk of a large pine tree which must have been from seventy-five to a hundred feet in height. Thunder storms were frequent and severe in Goldsboro, and after the lightning had struck and shivered an immense pine

tree only a short distance from our tent we thought it high time to remove our sleeping quarters from the pine tree at our feet; which we did.

The "boys" used now and then to go off into the surrounding country a mile or more from camp for blackberries which were not only plentiful but of unusual size. The bushes were loaded with the luscious fruit so that instead of picking the berries one by one as is usually done we would hold our pail under the loaded bush and with the fingers of our right hand pull the berries off in great numbers into the pail. And those berries were a great treat to men whose chief diet was hardtack, "salt horse" and black coffee. With brown sugar—the genuine article—to sweeten the berries and some fresh bread now and then purchased at a store in town we used to have what we "boys" considered a veritable feast. But alas! our feast was sometimes followed by such a severe pain "under our coats"—we had no vests—that our nocturnal forced march around camp was anything but enjoyable. These nocturnal marches, however, soon taught us the much needed lesson of moderation in the use of southern blackberries and brown sugar.

It must have been in the early part of July, 1865, that our regiment was ordered from department headquarters to take train for home, and we were *more* than willing to obey orders. If the inhabitants of Goldsboro did not consider us a lot of crazy "Yankees" it was not because we did not give vociferous vocal exhibition of our pleasure over the prospect of again becoming citizens of the part of the land which gave us birth.

On our way toward home through North Carolina we stopped over a day or so at Raleigh, the state capital; and while there I visited, with other members of the regiment, the state house, situated on the summit of a hill overlooking the quaint southern city. It was a large square building which, on the hill, looked to me like a huge dry goods box set on end. While in the state house I went up into the dome and there I cut with my knife a small piece of the wire from the netting which protected the glass; this I placed in a pocket. Coming down into the lower part of the building I cut a piece from one of the large red curtains in one of the legislative rooms; and this piece of faded red

cloth is in a conspicuous place over my study desk—I am at this moment looking at it—to remind me of the distant past and of the vandalism of thoughtless youth. The piece of wire long since disappeared.

As we were passing in open freight cars through the northern section of North Carolina many of the "boys" amused themselves by firing with our "seven-shooters"—while the train was in motion—at razor-back hogs, with which the adjacent woods seemed full. This was cruel sport as the now grown up "boys" realize.

We stopped over for a few hours one day at a little settlement on the line of the railroad and being hungry a few of the "boys" went into a country corner store where we purchased root beer and molasses cookies. And my, didn't that root beer taste good? On leaving the store I mischievously put the ribbed glass tumbler from which I had been drinking in my pocket and took it away with me. I brought this glass tumbler home with me and used it for several years after the close of the Civil War, when it was accidentally broken.

Our homeward route lay through Richmond, Virginia, where we made a stop of a few hours. The city as I remember bore the unmistakable marks of the prolonged war through which the country had passed. It is now, as I am informed, a beautiful city of about 150,000 inhabitants. Of one of the incidents in connection with this war-time city I have a vivid recollection, which is, that as we were passing through the outskirts of the city on our way northward, and while going at the rate of about seven or eight miles an hour—we had not got under anything like full headway—the train was brought to a sudden standstill which gave us quite a shock. We had collided with some object in front of the train. It seemed, indeed, as if we had suddenly run against an immense ledge of rocks. Some of the "boys" were thrown violently against the back of the seat in front of them and received painful injuries. As soon as we had sufficiently recovered our mental equilibrium we rushed outside the cars to ascertain the cause of the collision, and learned that an iron rail had in some way swung round from the parallel pile on which it had lain so as to be at a nearly right angle across the railroad

track. It was believed by some of the "boys" that the rail had been deliberately swung round across the track by some one who was unfriendly to the Union soldiers for the purpose of wrecking the train. Be that as it may, the train soon started northward again amid the cheers of the hilarious passengers in blue.

In passing from Richmond homeward we encamped for a day or two in the near vicinity of Petersburg where so much fierce fighting had taken place during the four years war. In "my mind's eye" I can even now see the white spire of a church in Petersburg from our temporary camping grounds. No soldiers either Union or Confederate were to be seen save the Union soldiers on their way home. The surrounding country looked as if a combined fire, hurricane and cyclone had swept over it—little or no grass, trees destroyed or if any were left standing they were almost leafless. Desolation was everywhere in evidence! We were glad when the orders came for us to leave the desolate region and continue our homeward journey.

We reached New Haven, Connecticut, late in the day of July, 1865, and were—I now quote from a volume entitled: "Connecticut During the Rebellion"—"received by the committee at the wharf, and escorted with the usual triumphal display, through illuminated streets, to a supper at the State House. Mayor Scranton welcomed the soldiers to the hospitalities of home, and Colonel Atwell briefly responded." I can see again the long, double row of tables spread with food, around which "the boys" stood and partook of the bountiful banquet provided for them. "The boys" placed their knapsacks under the tables while they ate.*

*When my brother-in-law left the State House in New Haven, after the conclusion of the banquet, he left his knapsack, with his name, regiment and company in conspicuous letters to distinguish it, under the banquet table at which we had stood. The lettering on this knapsack had, during our service in the south land, been artistically executed by our brigade band drummer, John H. Shumway; who for many years after the close of the Civil War was an expert draughtsman in a patent office in New Haven, Connecticut.

About twelve years ago, or about two years prior to the decease of my brother-in-law, he was requested, by one of the officials of the City Hall in "The Elm City," to call, as something of special interest to him had recently been found in the garret of the building. My brother-in-law, therefore, called at the City Hall, and was greatly surprised to have delivered to him the identical knapsack he had carried in the four years struggle for the preservation of national unity. When, about thrity years ago, the old cement State House on the New Haven Green was torn down this knapsack was found, and was afterward stored in the garret of the City Hall,

My wife's parents had removed to Seymour, Connecticut, a few miles above Birmingham. In our haste to reach home, my chums, Woodruff and Cornish, and I did not wait to take the cars home next day, but as soon as the banquet at the State House was concluded we started for home on foot by way of the New Haven and Derby turnpike. The distance from New Haven to Seymour over the route taken by us was about seventeen miles; but what cared we for the distance! Our faces were turned homeward, and if the distance had been twice as far we should have covered it on foot just the same. We reached Seymour early on the following morning. The meeting with our friends was indescribable!

I was so tired of my army clothing and other belongings that after once more donning citizens attire I threw undercoat, pants, shoes, haversack, knapsack, canteen and other articles out on the ash heap! Ah! how many times since, especially of late years, have I wished I had kept those articles I so thoughtlessly threw away in July, 1865. For some reason—perhaps because it was new—I kept my army overcoat for several years after my return from the war. It was finally given to a tramp, of which there were so many on the road in the seventies of the century past.

I have many times regretted that I did not, like many of the members of my regiment, purchase the Spencer Rifle, a seven shooter, which I had carried, which were sold by the government for about half price to those who wished to preserve them.

The following lines, by a favorite American poet, may, perhaps, be read with special interest at the present time:

> "Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
> Were half the wealth bestow'd on camps and courts,
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need for arsenals nor forts.
> The warrior's name would be a name abhorr'd,
> And every nation that should lift again
> Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
> Should wear forever more the curse of Cain."

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from which it was restored to the owner after the lapse of nearly forty years. Mrs. Edward P. Skinner, of New Haven, Connecticut, the only child of the former owner of the knapsack, now has this interesting souvenir of the Civil War, which will doubtless be handed down to succeeding generations of descendents, growing in interest with each generation.

Manufacturing in Sharon

BY LAWRENCE VAN ALSTYNE

Part II

Foundries

CUPOLA furnaces, or Gray Iron Foundries seem to come next in order. These did not manufacture iron, but they melted it and made it over into various useful and ornamental articles. There is a certainty of results in the manufacturing of the many things made of iron, quite different from the uncertainty that attends the making of pig iron. The iron melted in a cupola is certain to be a grade higher every time it is melted. By the proper admixture of lower grade iron, the grade being sought for is easily maintained.

One of these foundries was a little above Capt. Weed's blast furnace and close to the road running north from the Sharon Hospital. As far back as I have been able to trace it, it was run by Capt. Weed and his brother-in-law, Henry M. Gillett. Their main out-put was stoves, though they may have, and probably did make anything in their line that was called for. A cook stove, called the "Burnham stove," was made by them, and fifty years ago there were many of them in use in Sharon. The first cook-stove the writer ever owned was a Burnham, and a very good stove it was. It did not have as many nickel disfigurements as the stoves of now-a-days, but it worked just as well.

The next to operate this foundry was Mr. James J. Doyle, from New Jersey. He made plow castings, cultivator teeth, sleigh shoes and a great variety of other things as called for, as well as filling orders from his former customers in New Jersey. Mr. Doyle continued there until the Malleable Iron works in the Val-

ley burned, when he purchased the ruins of that concern and removed to Sharon Valley. He rebuilt, and was almost ready to start business there, when he was stricken with an illness from which he never recovered.

The shop at Calkinstown was torn down and little if anything remains to tell of the former activity of that place. The bottom of the pond is now a meadow, and the site of the foundry a garden spot.

Another foundry on that same stream, stood on the site now occupied by Mrs. Doty's barn. It was run by a man named Allen, and made the usual variety of small castings called for. One authority says he made clock weights, and another that he made what used to be called chairs, the irons used to connect the ends of railroad rails, and to keep them in line, before the Fish Plate came into use. The building was standing less than fifty years ago.

Another Foundry was near "upper" Benedict's Mill. The mill is in Salisbury, but as the dot on the map indicating where the foundry stood is on the Sharon side of the line, I claim it as a Sharon Manufactory. This foundry was equipped for heavier work than the common run of foundries made, but what it was or for whom it was made, I have not found out. In common with every gray iron foundry in this section, it was at the time the war broke out, busy making shot and shell for the Hotchkiss people.

Another Foundry was at Amenia Union, where the Cigar Factory of John Barnum used to stand, and I think gave way to that industry. Another foundry was on the same stream, but farther down, and is still standing. It was owned and operated by Mr. Buckley, who made the "Buckley Plow," and the buckets that are found in most every dairyman's cow stable today. I think Mr. Buckley was the inventor of both.

The Jewett Manufacturing Company, in Sharon Valley, at the breaking out of the war put in a gray iron cupola and made shot and shell for the Hotchkiss Company. Before this and until the destruction of the whole plant by fire, they made Malleable Iron; their output being mostly, if not entirely used by the Hotchkiss Company. For this a high grade of iron was used. The work

before annealing was as white as number six iron, and as brittle as glass. Being of all sorts of intricate patterns it had to be handled with the greatest care to prevent its breaking. After an acid bath, to remove the scale, it was taken to the Annealing Shop and packed in iron pots. In order to insure its keeping its shape while in the annealing oven, the spaces around each separate piece was filled with fine iron scale which, by repeated jarring as the pots were being filled held each piece as firmly as if in a vise.

When the pots were filled they were rolled into an oven, and the door was sealed with clay, so no air from the outside could enter. The fires were started and urged on as fast as possible night and day until the whole inside of the oven was at a white heat. A peep hole in the door could be opened, and by this means the conditions inside were carefully watched. When the annealer considered the heat about right, it was kept there for four or five days, after which the fires were allowed to go out and the oven to gradually cool. When the pots began to resume their natural color, the door was opened and the cooling off was encouraged as much as possible. Then the pots were hauled out and the contents dumped on the floor, when it was found that the iron was no longer brittle, but had become like the softest of wrought iron. The work was Garden Rakes, Currycomb Backs, Ox Shoes, Ox Bow Pins, Shaft Couplings, Buckles and such other malleable iron work as was called for by their customers. This I think completes the history of iron manufacturing in the town of Sharon, though it is possible there were others of which I have not been told. For an inland town, far away from large cities or other markets, with only small streams of water to furnish power, I think it is quite a respectable showing, and one that will compare favorably with any other like situated town in the state. Following the manufacturing of iron, and iron implements I suppose Blacksmithing would come next, and of these establishments there were many in the town.

Blacksmithing and Wagon Making are so closely associated that both may be mentioned in one connection. I am not sure how many there were of either in the town, but can say there were three in Sharon Valley, two in Sharon street, one in Calk-

instown, one near the Levi Whitford place, one or more at Amenia Union and one or two in Ellsworth. They did all general jobbing. Blacksmiths then made their own horse shoes, as well as the nails to fasten them on with. They also shod oxen, for oxen did the greater part of farm work, as well as some of the road work in the early days. They also made nails of all kinds for use in building, and some of them did nothing but make nails. One of these nail-making shops was in the Stoney Brook region, in Ellsworth. Mr. Israel Camp, who builded and owned the house where Mrs. Whitney now lives, told me he made the nails used in its construction, but whether on the premises or not I do not now remember. Now and then in tearing down old buildings some of these hand made nails are found and are looked upon as curiosities. They were wedge shaped, and for safety in using them, holes were bored in the wood with a gimlet before driving home the nails. Care and experience were both necessary, because if the holes were bored too deep the nail would not hold well, and if not deep enough, a split in the wood was apt to be the result. Sharon was full of craftsmen of all trades in the olden times, and long before I ever saw the place I knew of it from the building done by its mechanics in places far away from it. It could be said then with more truth than now, that this or that was made in Sharon. A wagon maker would select with the greatest care, a whiteoak, or a hickory tree, and after carefully falling it so as to prevent its splintering, would saw the log into spoke length pieces. These he would set on end, mark them off, and with an instrument made for that purpose, split them into the proper size for spokes, for the wagon he was intending to build. When these were well seasoned, which might take a year or more, he would by hewing, and shaving, and rasping, convert them into wagon spokes that would stand the wear and tear of a generation of use. The hubs he would turn in a lathe of his own manufacture, and then mortise them by hand. The rims, or felloes he would saw with a whipsaw, sometimes run by water power, but oftener by hand.

When the wagonmaker's work was done, it was turned over to the blacksmith for ironing, and when this was done it was

taken to the paint shop for a final finish. All this was done in Sharon, and when the completed wagon or carriage was taken out, it could of a truth be called a product of Sharon Manufacture. Not so now. The parts are all made in factories outside of Sharon, and by machines that know no difference between straight or cross-grained timber, or whether the wood passing through them is fit or unfit for the purpose it is intended for.

Under the head of Iron Manufacturing I suppose I should include The Hotchkiss Company, for although their output was partly of wood, yet it was largely of iron and steel. Their main factory was in the rear of the Hotchkiss house, in a stone building which I think is still standing. Andrew, a crippled son of Mr. Hotchkiss was the inventive genius of the family, and it is said the success of the firm, "Hotchkiss & Sons" was mainly due to the manufacture and sale of articles invented by him. As he could not walk, he went to and from the shop in a hand-car of his own construction and for which he furnished the motive power. He also had a large dog which he had broken to drive, and with which he used to travel about. Mr. St. John told me of going to Amenia to a circus, with Andrew Hotchkiss and Aaron R. Smith. They each had a large dog they had broken to harness, and in their dog carts they went to the circus, as well as on other expeditions. They would unharness the dogs, throw the harness in the carts, tell the dogs to take care of them, being sure nothing would disturb their rigs while they were away. Before the war the Hotchkiss Co. employed from fifty to one hundred hands, about half of which were women and girls. Before they moved to Bridgeport this number was greatly increased. They made currycombs of tin, brass and iron. They also made Ox bow pins, harness buckles and snaps, mowing machine fingers, monkey wrenches, wagon shaft couplings, garden rakes and other things too numerous to mention. The invention of the Hotchkiss Shell, coming as it did just in time for the Civil War, was the cause of their removal to Bridgeport, where they could keep the supply nearer up to the demand. Every gray iron foundry for miles around made shells for them, and Smith's Machine shop, which was a part of the Jewett Manufacturing Company's plant was kept busy doing the turning and finishing.

The Hotchkiss Shell, though of different sizes, were all of one shape and appearance; oblong, with one conical end, the other being shouldered so as to receive a loose fitting cap of the same diameter as the shell. This cap was set so as to allow of some longitudinal motion, and fastened with a band of lead which held the two parts firmly in position. When the shell was fired from the gun, the sudden explosion of the charge forced the cap forward, expanding the leaden band so it filled the grooves in the cannon, and gave to the shell the whirling motion of a rifle ball. The conical part of the shell was hollow, and held the powder charge that was expected to burst the shell and send the fragments flying. The pointed end was bored through into the powder chamber and in the hole so bored was an iron tube arranged to slide freely in it. This tube was filled with fulminating powder, and provided at its forward end with a percussion cap. A plug was screwed in to keep the tube in place, and the shell was ready for loading. When the gun was fired the shell passed on until it met with something to check its flight, when the tube slid forward against the screw, exploding the cap and likewise the powder, and the shattered shell went flying about in search of victims. If however the shell did not strike head on, it was not apt to explode, as the tube in that case would not slide forward with force enough to explode the cap. In order to test the shells and to correct any errors in their manufacture, guns of different calibre were procured and tests were made by firing across the valley, sometimes from the hill where Dr. Kerley's house stands, into the side of Ray Mountain beyond the Valley. Mr. C. M. Rowley writes of an attempt that was made to make cannon at the blast furnace, direct from the ore. The molds were set on end and the iron dipped from the hearth with hand ladles and poured into them. The attempt however did not prove successful and was given up.

The Hotchkiss shells went as far south as Port Hudson, La., and I well remember looking at the markings on the boxes, "A. A. Hotchkiss and Sons, Sharon Valley, Conn.," and wondering if any of those identical shells I had helped to make, while working in the Long Pond Foundry before I enlisted.

Another important industry in Sharon Valley was the Mouse-

Trap Shop at the "Jewett Manufacturing Company's" plant. Bass-Wood lumber in car-load lots was bought and stacked in the yard for seasoning. The traps were of six sizes, and were called one, two, three, four, five and six hole traps. The one hole traps were triangular in shape. The two and three hole were oblong, the four hole was a perfect square, and the five and six hole were round. They were cut and stained, after which the holes were bored. Augurs and bitts of different sizes were belted together so that the pulling of a single lever completed the boring of many holes at the same time. The wires were bended into the many shapes required, by machines that were almost human in their operation. I have been told these were the invention of Judson Bostwick, father of our neighbor, A. J. Bostwick. The shaping of the traps from the rough lumber gave employment to many hands, many of them boys and some of them girls, for the work required nimble fingers rather than bodily strength. It also made quantities of chips which were carted away to be used for bedding for horses and cattle. It was a common sight to see people carrying away great sacks full of traps and wires to be put together at their homes during the long winter evenings. It was a source of income to many that was greatly missed after the burning of the mouse trap shop.

Saw mills were plentiful all over the town of Sharon. In the early days little if any lumber was brought in from the outside, there being an abundant supply for the town's requirements growing within its limits. This the saw mills cut into various shapes and sizes needed by the inhabitants. If a new building was to be erected, a list of boards and small timbers was given the sawyer and the logs from which to make them were unloaded at his place of business. The larger timbers were hewed from the logs, either at a place convenient to the site, or, as was often the case, in the woods where the trees grew. Half inch boards were used for lath, the boards first being checked with an axe and by driving wedges in the splits so made, as the board was being nailed in place, a very good substitute for laths was made, though the plasterers of today find it difficult to make mortar stick to them. Nearly every grist mill had a saw mill in connection with it, and there were many others.

In fact in every place where water could be used for power there was a saw mill. It is said there were five saw mills on the stream called Guinea Brook, in Ellsworth. At the present time there are certainly four, and perhaps more doing business in the town. There were mills of other kinds in Sharon. A Fulling Mill stood on the opposite side of the road from Benedict's mill. The water wheel and some of the timbers were there fifty years ago, but they have since been removed, and there is no sign of their ever having been there. At Fulling Mills, the greasy matter was removed from woolen goods, and a more compact texture given them by causing the fibres to entangle themselves more closely together. Fuller's earth, a sort of clay, was used, the cloth being pounded in a trough with water running through it. The clay absorbed the oil and both were washed out by the water.

Quite a variety of manufacturing was done in the southwestern part of the town, "Hitchcock's Corner" as it was then; "Amenia Union" as it is now. One after another they have passed away, and only tradition is left to tell us about them. The one that outlived all the others was a Satinet factory which at the time of the Civil War was used by an army contractor for making socks for the soldiers. Soon after the war it was destroyed by fire and has never been rebuilt. One was a Carding mill, where wool was made into rolls ready for spinning into yarn. One was a Cooper shop, where barrels were made or repaired for use, far away or near. Among others was a Broom factory, a Hat shop where one could leave the measure of his head and have a hat made to fit it. A Tailor shop, a Tannery, two Shoe shops, a Wagonmaker's shop, one or more Blacksmith shops, two Foundries, a Grist mill, a Saw mill, a Shingle mill, a Cider mill, a Tobacco and Cigar factory and three stores all doing a thriving business for cash or barter, as the case might be. Then just over the line on the York state side was James Ryan's Cabinet Maker's shop, where furniture of any kind or quality was made to order, as well as coffins of any wood desired, and of the most elaborate workmanship. The place was practically independent of the outside world. Anything in the line of victuals or drink,

or clothes to wear, could be made to order or bought at stores right at home.

There was a Satinet mill on the Beebe Brook, the stream that runs north from the West Woods and connects with the Amenia Union stream on the farm of the late George Woodward. The building was moved, and is now a barn on that place, standing opposite the Deming Mill. Possibly there were others, but if so I have not been able to locate them. Mr. Giles Skiff says cloth was made at some place in Ellsworth, but cannot recall that he ever knew just where. There were Flax mills in Sharon, but I have only located three or them. One was the Toll gate house, between Sharon and Ellsworth, another near where Don Pedro Griswold now lives, the other opposite the water trough on the Cornwall Bridge road, below Ellsworth.

There were also Tanneries, or vats where leather was tanned. One was at Amenia Union. Dea. Charles Sears had one below the Sharon Inn, opposite Nathan Pitcher's home, and another was near where the road to Lime Rock turns off from the West Cornwall road. The last one gave the name, "Tan Vat," to the hill commonly called Tan Fat hill. Deacon Sears dressed the leather from his own vats, and possibly from the others, in the building now the home of L. VanAlstyne. On the map of Sharon, this house is shown and labeled, "C. Sears, Harness & Trunk Manufactory." In the north end of the building a firm, Winchester & Beeman, made trunks, and in the south end King & Beard made Saddles and Harness. The basement was used for dressing the leather, and some of the implements used in doing it are still in evidence.

Sedgwick says Francis Griswold, an early settler, was a tanner and currier by trade. His tannery was near his house, which stood on the corner a little north of Solomon Bierce's where the cider mill stood.

"Sedgwick" further says that William Avery was a hatter by trade and lived in Ellsworth on the Perkins place. I suppose he followed his trade of hat-making while living in Ellsworth, but I find no other record of it.

Hats were made in the house now owned and occupied by Miss

Ruth Prindle, and also in a shop near Charles B. Everett's. It is said the shop is now a part of Mr. Everett's house.

Mr. G. L. Smith says that clocks were also made in the Prindle house by a Mr. Burnham, Abner, he thinks. These clocks had a reputation as time keepers that long outlived their manufacture, and he remembers hearing it said, that if the name, "Abner Burnham," was found in a clock, it added to its selling value at once.

Bricks were made in several places in Sharon. One of these was in the field across the road from the Dwight St. John house, now Mr. Kelchner's. Apollos Smith built the house from bricks made in that yard. Of him, Sedgwick says he was a nephew of Dr. Smith, with whom he resided, and by whom he was assisted in establishing an extensive pottery before the Revolutionary War, which proved a profitable business.

Another brickyard was in Sharon Valley, where Timothy Fallon lives. It was owned and conducted by a Mr. Van Dusen.

Another was in Ellsworth, a little north of the school house in the lower district. Still another, and the latest of all was the one near Mitcheltown, owned and operated by A. C. Woodward and Charles Handlin in partnership. After a few years Mr. Woodward bought out his partner and continued the business alone. A better opportunity offering, he removed to East Canaan where he continued in the same line of business until his death. Doubtless the brick buildings in and about the village were made from bricks made at these brick-yards.

The "Old Brick Factory," now owned by A. J. Bostwick was built about the time of the war of 1812. It was used for weaving ducking for ship sails. When the war ended, the demand fell off and the business was given up. The building has ever since been known as the old brick factory, and has been put to many different uses.

Cider mills were plentiful in all parts of the town where apples grew. The primitive cider mill was a large wheel which was made to revolve in a circular shaped trough by horse power. The apples were thrown in the trough and crushed by the wheel as it went round and round. The pummice was laid up in a cheese held together by straw, and the cider squeezed out in much the same

way as it is done in these days. Has any one ever forgotten the delights of sucking cider through a straw?

All our old houses are of Sharon manufacture. The wood used in their construction grew in Sharon, and the nails that hold them together were hammered out in Sharon perhaps from iron made in Sharon. The completed house was the work of Sharon mechanics, even to the porches and mantles and door and window frames, that are so much admired, and are sometimes copied.

On the Cornwall Bridge road, where William Connor lives, one Milo Skiff did a thriving business making shingles. He was musically inclined, and made violins, dulcimers and organs, and perhaps other musical instruments.

I don't know as flour and feed mills can properly be called manufacturing establishments, but I will venture to tell about them for they were as necessary as any of the others. There are several feed mills in the town, but I know of only one flour mill, the one owned by Mrs. Deming. That one was built for a bolt shop by Samuel Deming, but he dying soon after, it was converted into a mill for custom grinding. They did not grind for money, as is the custom now, but took toll, a tenth part of every grist that came. There were many mills once busy in the town, that are gone and have left no sign of their ever having existed. But there were two at least that merit some mention. One was the mill built by Joel Harvey, and which probably stood where the Sharon Valley Blast Furnace was afterwards built. Under date of April 24, 1800, the Rev. Cotton Mather Smith made reply to some questions by Rev. Dr. Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, and among other things he mentioned the Joel Harvey mill. Of this he said. "About thirty years past, there was a water mill erected by Mr. Joel Harvey for thrashing and cleaning wheat. One man could thrash and clean about forty bushels a day. This mill and the barn adjoining, were consumed by fire, and never as yet repaired; but the proprietor has of late determined to rebuild them."

In the general history of Connecitcut, by the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL.D., printed in London in 1781; in the author's only mention of Sharon, he speaks of this mill as follows. "Sharon forms three parishes, one of which is Episcopal. It is much noted on

account of a famous mill, invented and built by a Mr. Joel Harvey upon his own estate; for which he received a compliment of twenty pounds from the Society of Arts in London. The water, by turning one wheel, sets the whole in motion. In two apartments wheat is ground; in two others, bolted; in another, threshed; in the sixth, winnowed; in the seventh, hemp and flax are beaten; in the eighth, dressed. Either branch is discontinued at pleasure, without, impending the rest.'' Sedgwick's history of Sharon says ''Joel Harvey came from New Milford in 1742, and settled in the Valley. He built a grist mill, which stood more than sixty years. He also built the stone house in the Valley, in 1747.'' This house is well remembered by many, and was torn down some forty years ago.

Another grist mill that has left its mark on the pages of history, is the one that stood beside the Cornwall Bridge road, near where Ellsworth ''East Street'' joins it. A little way below the junction of these two roads, on the right hand side, as one goes to Cornwall-Bridge, may be seen the foundation stones of this historic mill. It is not known when it was built, or by whom. Theophilus Smith, and Mica Mudge, are both mentioned as part owners of it. Later it became a part of the estate of Obadiah Bierce, grandfather of Mrs. Ryan, our Librarian. In a little book entitled ''Mandy's Quilting Party,'' under the heading, ''Going to Mill in 1777,'' is a chapter so full of interest concerning this mill, that I quote it entire.

(*To be continued.*)

Berea College

BY CAROLINE W. BERRY, LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.

IN the fall of 1854, John Gregg Fee with his wife and children, moved to the southern part of Madison county, Kentucky, and built a log house, where now stands the town of Berea.

Berea is situated in one of the most beautiful parts of Kentucky. On one side may be seen the range of mountains, so called, which is the watershed, sending the water from one side to the Cumberland river and sending the rills from the other into the beautiful Kentucky. Here the deep-worn cliffs show that in ages past, vast volumes of water surged and roared, leaving in stone their history for the eye of the present generation; and thus making barricade shutting in for generations the descendants of the unwary settler who stopped here instead of forging his way on to the more level and more fertile lands to the West.

As one drives south east from Berea, in the distance may be seen Pilot Knob, Bear Knob, Indian Fort Hill, East Pinnacle and West Pinnacle from which eminence Daniel Boone first looked into the favorite hunting ground of the Indians, the lowlands of Kentucky. This is a view of rare beauty and great range. Upon a clear day, one may distinguish hovering clouds of smoke, spires, or the shimmering light reflected from roofs and windows of seven counties.

These hills really are not mountains, for none of them reach the height of 2,000 feet. Upon the other side, the land is level and stretches away in wooded pastures of Blue Grass past the historic battlefield, on to the pretty little town of Richmond, only 15 miles away. It is hard to realize that this rugged landscape is only a few hours ride by the Knoxville branch of the Louisville and Nashville railroad from Lexington; for here through

Boone's Gap only two miles from the present town of Berea, came many of the first settlers on foot, cutting their way as they came, foot-sore and weary with many weeks of travel.

John G. Fee was born of slave-holding parents in Bracken County, Kentucky. He was educated at Augusta College, Ky., and at Miami University, and studied Theology in Lane Seminary. While a student of Theology he determined to become an apostle of Abolition instead of carrying out his first plan of going to the foreign mission field. His attitude toward slavery led to parental displeasure and his disinheritance. Not daunted by this, he began preaching upon the evils of slavery, wherever he could find an audience. He established churches in the counties of Bracken and Lewis, which denied membership to all slave holders.

While Mr. Fee was thus engaged, Gen. Cassius M. Clay was working with equal zeal for the same cause in various parts of the state. He published a paper in the interest of abolition in Lexington, until his press was seized and burned. It is not strange that these two enthusiasts should have found each other out, and should have become co-workers in the common cause. Thus it was that Gen. Clay invited Mr. Fee to come to Madison County to preach in the interest of the cause dear to them both.

An interesting story of Mr. Clay's courage will illustrate the party feeling which existed but little more than a half century ago.

"Mr. Clay in a speech made in the court house at Mt. Vernon, Ky., taking up a book containing the constitution of the state, said: 'Gentlemen, I have in my hand the Constitution of Kentucky which guarantees to every citizen the right of free speech.' Laying it down upon one side, he took up the court copy of the Bible, 'And here, gentlemen, I have the Bible, the charter of religious duty and liberty; it bids us prove all things and hold fast that which is good.' Laying it down on the other side, he drew forth a formidable revolver, and laying it down in the center said, 'And here, gentlemen, flanked on either side by the charter of civil and religious liberty, I propose, if it shall be challenged, to vindicate my right to say to-day whatever I shall deem best.' "

The courage of Mr. Fee was also noteworthy. Although he

was dragged from the pulpit and was otherwise threatened, he quietly and calmly followed his own plans; and continued to preach the Gospel as he believed it. Doubtless the combination of physical courage and spiritual grace were necessary to combat the evils of the time. Those were hard days for the reformer!

It was during the stress of such times as these, that Gen. Clay offered to give Mr. Fee a farm; if he would establish a school for these shut in Kentuckians of Anglo-Saxon blood, the same blood that courses through the veins of the proudest families of the state. The same foresight and spirit of justice, and the same love of humanity made Gen. Clay the champion of these white children shut in by physical surroundings, and the black children shut in by the political institution of slavery.

Thus it was in the fall of 1854, that John Gregg Fee was domiciled in a log cabin in Madison County where he founded an anti-slavery union church, out of which grew the village and the College of Berea.

The place was named for Berea of Macedonia, the city of Paul's refuge.

The school began its existence in 1855, and here Mr. Fee taught and preached with a bare shelter over his head, helped and sustained by his courageous wife.

In 1858, John A. R. Rogers, of Connecticut, came to join him in the work. Mr. Rogers was educated chiefly at Oberlin, Ohio, and had taught in the Preparatory Department of the school. Having something of the nature of his martyred ancestor, John Rogers of England, he chose the life of a missionary and selected the eastern part of Kentucky as his field of activity.

On September 7, 1858, a meeting was called of such citizens of Madison County as were interested, and a few persons from other sections of the state. This meeting was held in Mr. Fee's study and he was chosen chairman. John Rogers was chosen chairman of a committee to present a constitution. The three points earnestly discussed that day were: "Is there a demand for a college in this region? Are we the men called of God to carry it forward? Is it to be wholly for God and not for our own glory?"

These men had great faith!

Mr. Rogers writes, "God having fashioned all the country with reference to the school afterward to be planted here, and made it a gateway into the mountains."

Mr. Rogers drew up and presented a constitution which was duly accepted. It was in a large measure fashioned after that of Oberlin College. The constitution sets forth the purpose of the school thus: "The object of this college shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, at the least possible expense to the same, and all inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the Board of Trustees shall be offered to its students."

In the fall of 1858 fifteen pupils presented themselves. They were of various ages, but all needed rudimentary instruction. It was decided to begin work toward a college. Mr. Fee was chosen President, and men were appointed to solicit funds and to arouse interest. The work of the school was brought to the notice of the people of the North and East by the magazine of the American Missionary Association, in which there were continually communications from the missionaries of Eastern Kentucky.

The best methods of instruction were employed, music was introduced, and the pupils, some of whom were grown men and women, responded with the same measure of enthusiasm that was shown by their zealous teachers. Literary societies were organized, debating was encouraged, lectures on chemistry with experiments, and upon other subjects, simplified to meet the demands were given to members of the school and to any others who wished to attend.

There were, among the pupils of Berea, representatives from slave-holding families, who became offended by the frank expressions of the faculty, all of whom were Abolitionists; and who withdrew from the school, leaving a smaller number in attendance during the last part of the year 1858-59 than in the beginning.

It was in October, 1859, that John Brown made his famous raid upon Harper's Ferry in Virginia. As soon as it became known that John Brown had attempted to arm slaves, all the indignation of the spirited southern blood flamed up in resentment. In

consequence of this blunder, Kentuckians became suspicious of all Abolitionists. Great excitement prevailed. Meetings were held in the Court House at Richmond, at which it was decided that the Abolitionists of Berea must leave the state; accordingly a committee of sixty-two citizens was appointed to remove such persons, peaceably, if possible; forcibly, if necessary.

The school was abandoned temporarily, and the missionaries sought safety where they could. Then followed dark days, when brother fought brother, when father and son were often on different sides of the terrible civil strife.

During their exile, Mr. Rogers represented the interests of the American Association to the churches of New York and New England; and Mr. Fee found some worthy work in Cincinnati and other towns in Ohio.

In 1862, they returned to Kentucky, thinking they would be able to resume their work at Berea. They arrived about the time that 10,000 Union forces were defeated in the battle of Richmond by Gen. Kirby Smith's command. When this hard fought battle was over, once more these missionaries found it impossible to remain in Kentucky, and once more they fled to places of safety. At the close of the war, they again returned, Mrs. Fee and her daughter teaching at Berea, while Mr. Fee went to Camp Nelson where he preached to and taught the colored soldiers. In January of 1866, the school was reopened, and with some difficulty was reorganized and brought through the reconstruction period.

Mr. Fee and Mr. Rogers solicited the money necessary to carry on the running expenses and to add some buildings. Wealthy citizens of Cincinnati and New York were generous to the new institution.

In January, 1869, Mr. Rogers planned a meeting in Cooper Institute, New York, at which the speakers were Dr. Howard Crosby, Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. J. P. Thompson and Mr. Fee.

Berea has had from its beginning the support and interest of a most distinguished clientele. Roswell Smith of the Century Magazine, Andrew Carnegie, Dr. D. K. Pearson of Chicago and Mr. and Mrs. John Stewart Kennedy are among its benefactors; and President Woodrow Wilson, Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, Dr. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, and President

Hadley of Yale are enthusiastic in their praise of the purpose, scope and methods of this unique college.

In February of this year (1915), there was held a meeting in Washington, D. C., in the interest of this institution, at which Justice Hughes presided; Woodrow Wilson made an address with the significant title, Berea's Aim the Aim of America; Hamilton W. Mabie gave what he called an interpretation of Berea; Dr. Frederick G. Bonser, of Columbia University, New York, spoke upon the subject, Berea an Example of American Educational Ideals; and there were present two thousand people, among whom were scores whose names are familiar to all Americans, the Postmaster General, Secretaries of Navy and Interior, a group of United States Senators, ministers of all denominations, authors of note, college men, and practical men of business.

Thus Berea College, since the Civil War, has grown steadily, uninterruptedly, always on toward greater efficiency; until it is to-day the largest college, both in its holdings and its matriculation, in the state of Kentucky.

Berea College owns Fay Forest, a reserve of 4,000 acres, 300 acres in farm and gardens, and 70 acres of blue grass, shaded by native forest trees, adjacent to the various buildings, which are used as recreation grounds. There are more than a dozen buildings now in use, most of which are substantial, well built, and modern. These are the Men's Industrial Buildings, 182 feet long and three stories high; the New Chapel, with a seating capacity of 1,400; Lincoln Hall, the Administration Building; Carnegie Library; Putman Hall; The Farm Building; The Academy; Knapp Hall, Howard Hall, Ladies' Hall; The Hospital, The Home of Friends Industries, and the President's House. In addition to these is Boone Tavern, a comfortable, well conducted hostlery, owned and operated by the college. The plant is watered by ten mountain springs, which have sufficient elevation to give the necessary pressure.

The equipment consists of Gymnasia, Laboratories for Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, provided with microscopes and complete facilities for individual use; library of 30,000 volumes, the largest college library in the state; an eight and one-fourth inch equatorial telescope with proper mountings, the gift of An-

drew P. Henkle of Cincinnati; and a well appointed hospital, where a training school for nurses is maintained.

Home nursing, Domestic Science, and Fireside Industries are taught. Indeed the homespun fabrics of Berea College have become famous. The Paris, France, exposition in 1900 awarded a bronze medal to the college for superior homespun fabrics, and a second medal of the same kind was awarded by the Pan American Exposition at Buffalo, New York.

The faculty is composed of 82 professors, instructors, and executive assistants, about one-half of whom are college graduates. There are three departments, Industrial, Normal, and Collegiate, in each of which a generous choice of subjects is given. In addition to this, is the Foundation School where persons over fifteen years of age may have rudimentary training with others of their own age. In the building which accommodates this school, there are thirteen well equipped rooms.

The Industrial School offers courses in Agronomy, Mechanics, Carpentry, Printing, Domestic Art, Commerce, and Sundry Industries. The Normal department gives training for teachers, and places stress upon the needs of rural communities. This department has a training school in which the young children of Berea may receive proper Kindergarten and Primary training.

The Collegiate department is less interesting than others, because it is much like the academic work being done in other colleges over the whole country. The same degrees are conferred and conditions are quite similar. Perhaps an increased earnestness, and the absence of social dissipations, which become a sad menace to real work in the experience of boys and girls of rich parents, are the greatest points of difference.

Berea is abreast of any school of the time in settlement work. Narrow Gap, a few miles from Berea beyond Silver Creek, was known for its lawlessness. Within a small area, there were seven illicit stills with all the ills that follow cheap whiskey. The place was called Hell's Corner by the mountain people. The college authorities became interested in the place and in reclaiming it. Accordingly, Berea College bought the land upon which the stills stood, built a log school house of two rooms and a log cabin near by. Here came a refined well educated young woman to

live and to teach. Her cabin, built as many of the mountain cabins are, contains a few good pictures, a piano, and plenty of good books. She has taken two mountain children into the home to live. The school house is used as a social center. Here Sunday school is held regularly, and here occasional lectures or readings are given by some of the college faculty. The experiment has been most satisfactory. The changes in the neighborhood are just such as the school hoped to secure.

During the administration of Mr. Fee, the school was well established and became known to many persons outside of Kentucky. He did a work for which he seems to have been especially fitted.

In 1869, Henry Fairchild of Oberlin was called to the presidency and he was able, by his good judgment and practical wisdom, to push the work, so well begun, to fuller development. During his term of office, Ladies' Hall, College Chapel, and Lincoln Hall were erected.

President William Goodell Frost, who was filling the chair of Greek at Oberlin, was called to the presidency of Berea College in 1892. With his advent, came renewed vigor, fresh inspiration and growth. The number of students has greatly increased during the twenty-three years of his administration. Indeed for the past three years, the dormitories have been inadequate, and applicants have been turned away. Kentucky Hall, a new commodious dormitory will, in a short time, be ready for occupancy, should nothing stop the execution of present plans; thus increasing, by three hundred, the number of girls whom the college can accommodate. This increase would bring the enrollment to more than two thousand. The enrollment last year (1914-15) was eighteen hundred, representing almost every state in the Union and the foreign countries.

At the close of the Civil War, negroes were admitted to the school. This was, perhaps, in keeping with the policy of the founders; for they chose for the college motto, "God made of one blood all nations of men." Many negroes moved to Berea in order to educate their children. They were always greatly in the minority and the two races, we are told, observed great decorum

in their intercourse and relationship, one with the other. In 1904, the Legislature of the state passed a bill forbidding the two races to attend the same school, and the colored students moved to Lincoln Institute in Shelby county, which was provided for them.

The purpose of Berea is to give an opportunity to those who have not had it, and to give it for the minimum cost.

Every student is required to do seven hours per week of manual labor; and those who desire it, may have the opportunity to do more work, for which they are paid a reasonable wage.

Amusements are furnished in abundance, and students are restricted to such amusements as are furnished by the college authorities.

The personnel of the college body is pleasing. These are frank, eager, handsome Anglo-Saxon youths. They are fearless and proud. There is nothing of self abasement, nothing of self pity. These people know their ancestry and are proud of it. Like most highlanders, they love the rugged beauty of their homes. Theirs is a case of retarded progress, retarded because of their isolation, their want of contact with the outside world.

One man who has made a study of these conditions says he has found nine hundred obsolete words of Chaucer's time in current use among these people.

Those who have visited Oxford and its beautiful gardens, those gardens whose beauty is shut in from the world, walled in from the world, were doubtless oppressed by the presence there still of the spirit of mediaevalism; were, perhaps, oppressed by the realization that Americans even to-day are seeking the old world standards offered there. It is possible that the unnatural life of the quadrangle, the almost monastic influence, can prepare boys for the progressive, alert, bustling, democratic life of America?

The influences of Berea College are directly opposed to these influences. The visitor, even of a few days, is filled with enthusiasm for the practical training, whether it be in the vocational schools or in the academic work of the college. There is a freshness, a vigor, a directness of purpose, a zeal for work that is remarkable.

Dr. Bonser, of Columbia University, New York, recently said of Berea College, "The methods, ideals, and achievements of this institution may well be studied and emulated in every community from ocean to ocean."

Historic Views and Reviews

We take pleasure in publishing the following notice as it relates to one of the oldest and most successful colleges in the country and the one from which our Associate Editor received his degree of A. B. and A. M.

RUTGERS COLLEGE—1766-1916

To the Alumni:

The Committee in charge of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Rutgers College has chosen Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, October 13, 14, and 15, 1916, as the dates for the exercises in celebration of this event. That the alumni may have a general idea of the scope of the Celebration and their part in it, the following information is given.

On Friday morning, October 13th, Commemoration exercises are to be held, to which as many alumni as possible will be admitted. These are to be followed by an informal luncheon, after which it is planned to give an outdoor pageant. In the evening, it is hoped that class dinners or other appropriate entertainment will be provided by the alumni themselves.

Saturday is to be distinctly Alumni Day. After the Academic Exercises of the morning, to which, as on Friday, as many alumni as possible will be admitted, there will be a luncheon; followed by a parade to Neilson Field which, it is hoped, the alumni will make a special feature of the Celebration. This will be followed by a football game, Washington and Lee versus Rutgers. In the evening, there will be an Alumni Dinner.

Sunday is to be especially devoted to exercises commemorative of the connection between the College and the Reformed Church; in the morning the Anniversary Sermon, and in the afternoon a Vesper Service.

The Charter was granted by King George III on November 10, 1766. The original name was Queen's College. It was changed to Rutgers College on November 30, 1825.

The celebration will include commemorative academic exercises, assembly of delegates from other institutions, religious services, reunions of alumni and friends, and various appropriate social functions and entertainments.

In connection with the anniversary, a number of publications will be issued, among them, a History of the College; a General Catalogue of Trustees, Faculty, Graduates and Non-graduates; a Bibliography; and a Handbook of Buildings and Collections.

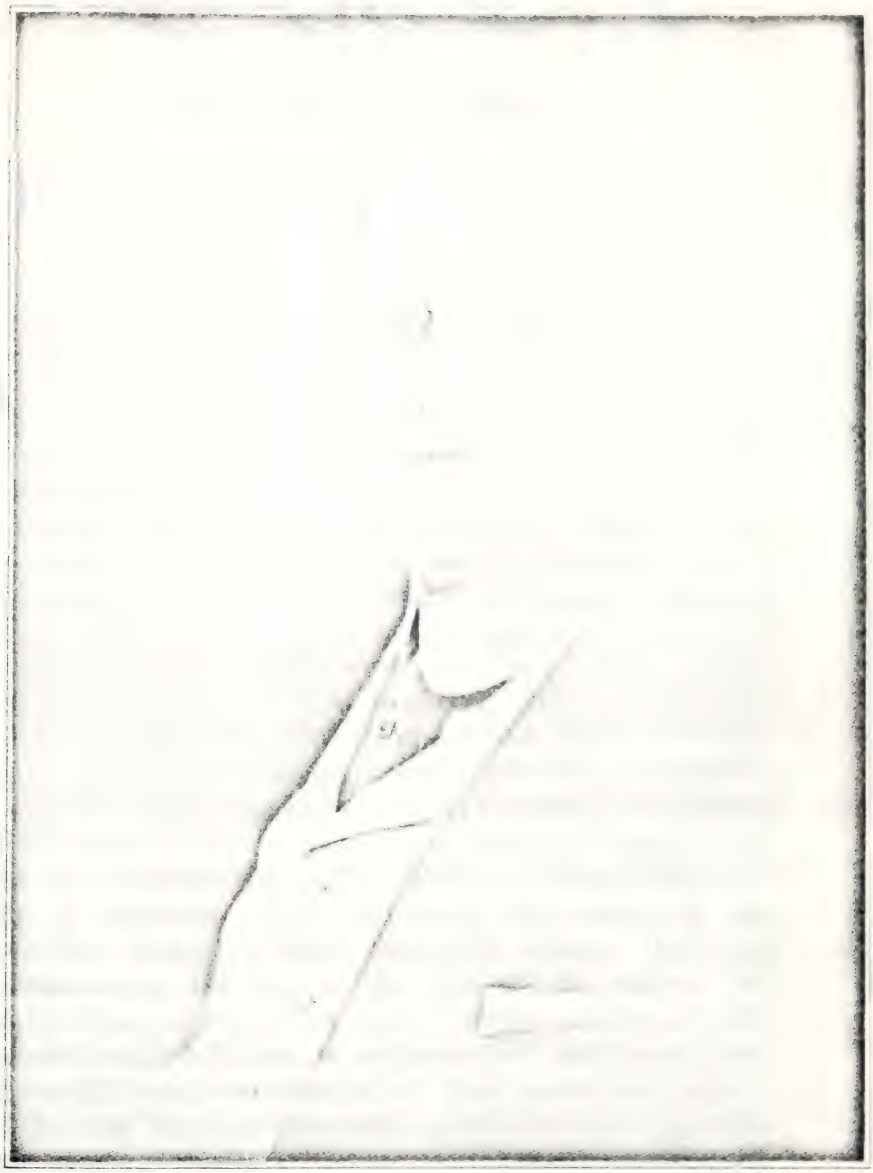
A historical Exhibition of manuscripts, publications, autographs, relics, and photographs relating to the college, its founders, officers, academic work, and student life, is being arranged.

Any data, in the shape of information or material, which will serve to make the publications interesting, accurate and complete; and any gifts or loans of objects which will increase the value and interest of the Historical Exhibition, will be gratefully welcomed.

All graduates and non-graduates, as well as all friends of the College, are urged to reserve the appointed dates and to attend the Celebration.

THE CELEBRATION COMMITTEE.

Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.



Frank W. Woolworth

AMERICANA

October, 1916

FRANK W. WOOLWORTH

AMERICA has been called, and rightly, the land of opportunity; the country wherein the individual, untrammeled by ancient prejudices and customs and relieved from the overpowering burden of Old World religious and caste domination, may develop his natural abilities with an unhesitating effectiveness. We of this generation have become familiarized with the names of many citizens of our Republic who for themselves have won a foremost rank, a place of eminence and power,—plutocrats of finance, industrial captains of latter days,—whose achievements, in realms of finance, commerce and world's work, are the heralded amazement and far-reaching influences of to-day. History is replete with the fabled and far-famed influence and power of many an ancient prince or leader whose direction affected a far smaller number of individuals, and whose actions created a less lasting effect upon worldly affairs, than these giants of finance and commerce of a modern age. The moderns' accomplishments, especially in America, could well form the theme of the historian; they exemplify more forcefully, almost, than any other circumstance, the rise of the unit of the masses, the individual neither of royal nor noble lineage, neither of land nor place nor family influence, to eminence and vast possessions, under the enlightened combination of those marvelous experiments of the New World pioneers and upbuilders—good government and liberty! There is, indeed, an analogy between the ancient princely leader and the modern merchant prince;—though every circumstance surrounding them be different, yet in each—in an ability to avail themselves of the means to hand, the recognition and seizing of opportunity, the control and

regulation of men and of affairs—the sum of leadership is manifested an apparent whole. Each in command of an army; the one to conquer and enrich by force of arms the possessions of his clan or country,—the other to battle 'mid the commercial arena and wrest therefrom industrial riches for the material prosperity of the nation; each in command of immense resources, the former oftentimes losing his gains by means and in methods which did not advantage the country at large; the latter investing and reinvesting, ever creating a greater principal, through the purchasing power of which commercial activity, widely and enormously stimulated, acquires for the nation at large and its citizenry a golden heritage ever accumulating; each distinguished by gifts of the most magnificent generosity; each doing deeds and rendering decisions epoch-making in their influence upon world conditions; the modern prototype of eminent achievement in his selective line, though less poetic a figure upon the worldly stage and always more serviceable than spectacular, yet represents in all the variations of his composite activities, a conservation of world resources and an enrichment of the material unit, which has been a means of wealth for countless thousands and has constituted him a mighty partner in creating, as it is and has become, his native land the richest and most plentiful throughout the earth.

An American of Americans. So, aptly, may be described Frank W. Woolworth;—descendant of colonial pioneers, native of the State of New York, the leading merchant of the world, with far encircling interests in every State in the United States and in several foreign nations. He was born in Rodman, Jefferson County, New York, the eldest son of John Hubbell Woolworth and Fanny (McBrier) Woolworth, on the thirteenth day of April, 1852. His father's was a simple country homestead, around which cluster the delightful recollections of a happy childhood. The eye of retrospection traveling backward through time's vista views the old farm house, the grandfather who appeared so venerable, the thousand inanimate delightful things,—but fond memory lingers longest 'round the tender form of the aged grandmother; her gentle grace and

WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK
Tallest building in the world

sweet and kindly presence were often a compelling attraction to her eldest grandson, Frank, to hasten down the country road into her welcoming arms, and here his parents could nearly always rely on finding their lost one. Though "the grass upon her grave" has been growing many a year, she still lives haloed and enshrined in the heart of her beloved and eminent descendant. The farm upon which the family lived at Mr. Woolworth's birth was the property of his grandfather, a man of some standing in his community and of a goodly portion of prosperity,—Jasper Woolworth, who was born in Suffield, in the State of Connecticut, March 8, 1789, in the same little Connecticut village in which the founder ancestor of the family in America, Richard Woolworth, had received a grant of land from the General Court of Massachusetts more than a hundred years before; the district was in those pioneer days known as Southold in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and it later assumed the designation of Suffield, in Connecticut. A strong and sturdy representative of the ancestral stock, Jasper Woolworth was endowed with a large share of that adventurous and enterprising spirit which had lent encouragement to his ancestor to cross the seas and try the hazard of his fortunes in the New World. Finding conditions in Connecticut not altogether to his liking, he removed himself, with all his *lares and penates*, to the neighboring State of New York, where soil was bountifully alluvial, acreage cheap and easily obtainable, and population less; thus this branch of the old Connecticut stock became resident in New York, and these descendants of this pioneer and Revolutionary family began to call the Empire State their home. In England, the family lineage traced its course in unbroken succession backward to the reign of Henry IV., when the family name was written interchangeably Wolley, de Woley, de Wolegh, and de Woleghe, the ancient seat of the family, as early as the reign of King John, being in County Chester, where representatives continued to hold lands for several centuries. The transmuting hand of time has wrought great havoc in many olden surnames, and though the carefree ancient scribes gave such variety to this ancient and historic family name, yet it remained for the Pilgrim Fathers to ring still further varia-

tions. To them, with their "awful reverence" for antiquity, we are forever indebted for the pious earnestness which preserved from oblivion the dawn of civilized settlement in our country; yet were they in many instances more distinguished for zeal than for brilliance of orthography, and the American founder of this family, Richard Wolley in England, after appearing in the Newbury Massachusetts records both as Wooley and Woolworth, at their hands finally became known by the surname Woolworth. The family has had its representative in the War of the Revolution; Phineas Woolworth, great-grandfather of Mr. Woolworth, was seventeen when he enrolled himself for service in the militia drawn from his native Suffield; and when the last arbitrament of earthly argument was inevitable between Mother country and her colonists, he formed one, in memorable April '75, of that everlastingly immortalized host, the Minute Men. The New England progenitor, Richard Woolworth, planted well his seed in New World soil, and from him came down a hardy race of men, each with "the natural and indelible signature of God stamped on the human soul," prepared to toil and labor with their compatriots, pigmys against the giant luxuriance of an untamed wilderness, and wrest from out a wild and savage-haunted continent a heritage for future generations.

Frank W. Woolworth's early years were passed at Great Bend, Jefferson County, on a farm to which his father had removed when he was about seven years of age. There was no superfluity of worldly luxuries in their little country home; the countryside was not a rich one nor were any of the farmers thereabouts blessed with too burdensome a portion of this world's goods. Two boys composed the younger generation of the household, four years' difference in age between them, and upon the elder, Frank, as he grew in years, naturally fell heaviest the burden of assisting his father on the farm. The neighboring country school with its limited advantages afforded him his first educational opportunities, and under these simple and unadorned conditions, he passed from childhood into early youth. He was still a lad when he considered himself qualified

FIFTH AVENUE RESIDENCE OF FRANK W. WOOLWORTH

—if in no other way, at least by a sufficiency of years—to essay a trial of his fortunes in the busy city marts, which held for him, as for every true country boy, most fascinating allurements; so, in preparation for the great event, he began when eighteen a course in a commercial academy, meeting the charges incident thereto with money which he himself had previously earned.

When Mr. Woolworth was about twenty-one years old, the nearby city of Watertown was a most thriving, enterprising commercial center; thither the boys of the village flocked to gain their first insight into the mysteries and intricacies of business methods; and there, on reaching his majority, Mr. Woolworth took the first step in a career which by its brilliance of accomplishment has acquired international recognition. The drygoods house of Augsbury and Moore at Watertown was one of good commercial standing, and with this firm, first without any compensation, and later with but nominal remuneration, Mr. Woolworth, working early and late, endeavored to master the details of the business. But progress was slow, and the ebullience of youthful enthusiasm, painfully tried and sobered, suffered its first check; though disappointed, he was not discouraged, for in the language of Emerson, he labored "with courage and great aims," and his was not the nature or the spirit to lay down its arms in life's battle vanquished at a single cast. In 1875, he discontinued his connection with Moore and Smith, successor firm to Augsbury and Moore, and made a change which seemed to offer advantageous opportunities for advancement; in this new association, he suffered a recurrence of the vexatious and continuing disappointment, in the irritating and apparently insurmountable slowness of his progress, which had much disturbed him previously; despite his utmost effort and attention, his services were but little appreciated or valued, and the seeming impossibility of ultimate success in his then environment—for which the span of any ordinary lifetime, at his then progression, seemed to afford altogether insufficient time—so undermined his health and so despondently affected his spirits that he was forced to return home for a prolonged rest. Perhaps the force of adverse circum-

stances in molding or in influencing a man's life was never more apparent than in this case; thus early in his career did one of the most unique and remarkable leaders in modern mercantile life feel the bitterness of "human hope by cross events destroyed." Mr. Woolworth could not feel himself equal to a resumption of his business activities until 1877, when, enthusiasm restored, spirits revived, all damage of the commercial combat repaired, he once more sallied forth, like knight of old, to do or die, fighting.

There is nothing so fascinating as to follow in the pathway of some prominent and successful man, and step by step, observe him rise from obscurity to prominence, from poverty to riches, from the undistinguished rank and file to a topmost round on the ladder of success. When, in the summer of 1877, Mr. Woolworth returned to Watertown, it was, all unknown to himself, to resume a career which was to suffer no interruption and no diminution in its onward progress even to the present day. He once more connected himself with the house in Watertown where his initial business step had been taken, and continued there, steadily increasing his knowledge of the business and acquiring a thorough understanding of mercantile management, for more than a year. Under circumstances which would have tried out weaker metal, he conserved from the little measure of his means a fund for future service, and patiently improving every moment, expectantly awaited each new day. And he was ready when opportunity at last presented and seized the vital moment with so tenacious a determination for success as knew no recognition of obstacles or difficulties but to encompass their removal. It was in Watertown, in 1878, that the deciding die suddenly was cast for the life work of the future; in the autumn of that year, while still employed in Watertown, a sale of articles was held by Mr. Woolworth's employers which consisted of various odds and ends gathered together from their stock and all offered to the public at a uniform price of five cents each. Great projects have often very humble beginnings; primitive means often prove the first instruments to a masterly end; and in this case, to leave no attribute missing which should render the affair insignificant, the promoters of this pioneer

RESIDENCES OF MR. WOOLWORTH'S DAUGHTERS
East Eightieth Street, New York

idea, depreciating their own wisdom, improvised their counter for the sale out of disused boards supported in place on an old sewing machine base; the humble purveyor of a giant idea being some two feet wide by about eight feet long; and such the means and such the conditions, by which this most remarkable example of mercantile business took wing. Mr. Woolworth was alertly watching; the unexpected success of this unusual method suggested a form of business which should be devoted exclusively to the sale of small articles at this stated sum; and with quick and keen decision he determined immediately to embark upon the enterprise. Utica, New York, became his selection for the maiden venture, and in that city he established the very first of all the stores which now bear his name. A fact, significant and characteristic, is here presented; the idea for this enterprise was first presented to Mr. Woolworth in September, 1878; by the following February, 1879, we find him actually in business, in a store of his own, his plans formed, his small capital secured, his stock of goods placed. This gives some slight insight into the rapidity of action following well calculated decision which has distinguished every onward move in the great work of his life; and in this, too, may be perceived at least one of the many causes which have made him what he is to-day.

Throughout the intermediate stages in the building up of the business, there were many acute periods when only such a master hand as Mr. Woolworth's at the helm of affairs could have guided the newly launched enterprise past the shoals of business disaster; it did not spring overnight into an instant success; only his great brain, long patience, hard work, and unremitting attention could preponderate the balance to the measure of success; throughout it all, Mr. Woolworth underwent no abatement of his confidence in a prosperous issue; yet in the beginning his conviction of ultimate prosperity was handicapped by the serious and pressing question of a want of capital. However, ability and ambition, brains and determination, will force the entering wedge, and lacking greater means, he was perforce content to work with smaller and to that which he had, adapted his policy and molded his future

plans in the conduct of the business. Mr. Woolworth managed his first store without clerical assistance and after a few months sold out his interest, almost immediately thereafter starting another store in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It was in Lancaster that he first entered upon the extension of his stores throughout various cities in Pennsylvania and the nearby states, and it is most interesting to here note that on the site of the first successful venture in Lancaster, Mr. Woolworth has had erected a building for the business which is the largest in that city. As time passed, he established various other stores in Pennsylvania; of these, two, one opened in Harrisburg where he put his brother, C. S. Woolworth, as manager, the other in York, proved total failures; another, started in Scranton, became a profitable venture; the stores now sold articles at ten cents as well as a line of five-cent goods, and the business showed a profit, though a small one. Before and about 1883, the prospects for this method of retail business (in which other Watertown men as well as Mr. Woolworth had become engaged) seemed about exhausted and the enterprise was very generally being abandoned by nearly all who had so vigorously taken up the same in the beginning. Mr. Woolworth, although he observed the tendency, yet held fast to his faith in the idea; and though others might cease the prosecution of their efforts at the first shadow of apparent failure, it did not weaken his determination. With his course shaped, his goal determined, and all the courage of his convictions, the hostility of vagarious fortune, though prolonged and bitter, left him undismayed. Mr. Woolworth continued his policy of opening stores in new locations from time to time; with his cousin, Mr. S. H. Knox, he started a store in Reading, Pennsylvania, and another store was thereafter opened in Trenton, New Jersey; some of the stores met with a portion of success, and others hardly returned on the expense of opening. Several total losses were encountered, all most trying to hope and patience, and in 1886 one of the most disheartening failures occurred when Mr. Woolworth and Mr. Knox, again in partnership, opened a store in Newark, New Jersey, which proved a total loss. These intermediate misfortunes had a most sovereign effect upon Mr. Woolworth, for

balked in one direction he spurred on with the greater exertion in another; and with the more indomitable perseverance persistently pushed onward against all odds. But this same year of 1886, which marked one of the heavy losses in the chain of stores, likewise gave a period to the halting and uncertain fortunes of the enterprise; from thence on, the upward and outward progress of the business became gradually assured, and from that year it has continued, ever increasing in volume, constantly enlarging in geographical radius, passing the national boundaries north into Canada, and crossing the seas to the nations abroad, uninterruptedly amassing profits, and carrying out, year by year, in fuller and freer scope, the plans and policy mapped out for it by the genius of its founder.

To return to the year 1886, which marked a turning point in the Woolworth enterprise: Mr. Woolworth was then located in New York in a little office on Chambers Street, and from New York he controlled the details of his business and likewise managed the important financial end. On coming to New York he was practically a stranger, struggling to make what might be termed a pioneer method of enterprise successful, and doing all without assistance and without sufficient capital. His first bank was a very small institution, the New York National Exchange Bank, having at the time less than a million dollars in deposits; but dissatisfied with the treatment accorded him, as his business prospered and his profits increased, he transferred his account to the Chemical National. His connection with the New York National Exchange, however, had not ceased, for later, when the bank's control had changed, and through the urgent solicitation of its later elected president, Mr. Pierson (at that time vice-president), he consented to return his account to the latter bank and to become a member of its directorate. As such director, Mr. Woolworth served on the committee of four appointed to select a successor to the retiring President, whose management had proven unsatisfactory. Mr. Pierson, whose energetic efforts to improve the condition of the bank had received favorable recognition, was the selection of the committee for the office of president, and in the subsequent conduct of the bank the choice was proven a most happy one.

The new president, in his endeavors to increase the deposits of the bank, encountered much rivalry from other banking institutions and especially one, the Irving National (at that time also a small bank), soon became a formidable rival for the business of the New York National Exchange. Locating opposite, it began actively to canvass for the business of its neighbor; and the opposition proving of no mean proportions it was deemed advisable by the directorate of the New York National Exchange that the two banks be consolidated. To this end, negotiations were begun, but resulted in failure; and though not abandoned, and taken up two years later, the plan of consolidation again proved abortive. Mr. Woolworth, however, had become convinced that a consolidation would be both beneficial and profitable to both institutions, and devoting his efforts unremittingly to this end a satisfactory agreement was reached at last in the following year. Thus the two banks became consolidated, the name of Irving National Exchange Bank was chosen, and Mr. Woolworth and his fellow consolidators selected as the president for the enlarged institution Mr. Pierson, the former president of the superseded New York National Exchange. The wisdom of Mr. Woolworth's persistence in forwarding the consolidation soon became apparent in the rapid increase of the business of the Irving, which bank had before long outgrown its then quarters and stood in urgent need of greater space, and this necessitated ultimately the selection of a new site and a new building where sufficient room would be obtainable. And here, were this a history of the "Woolworth Building," the first chapter in that history would begin. The bank directors appointed a committee, of which Mr. Woolworth was one, to secure a site for their new banking building, and the corner of West Broadway, Hudson and Reade streets came under partly favorable consideration; this location was, however, opposed by Mr. Woolworth, who advocated a site on Broadway if the Irving National desired to take rank with the great banking houses of the metropolis. Some opposition to such a plan developed among various of the directors and stockholders, who feared the bank could not carry its business to Broadway, many of its customers being in the produce

trade, although all acknowledged that such a site was desirable from the standpoint of prestige. Mr. Woolworth felt the future development of the bank to be at stake, and in its interests he at this juncture began to make inquiries as to the available sites along the great metropolitan artery of traffic, Broadway. After some investigation a favorably situated plot was found at Reade Street, on Broadway; but when the plottage was planned out as an office building for the bank, various objectionable features in its size and facilities for rear lighting developed. Further investigation revealed another plot at Park Place on Broadway, owned by the Mercantile National Bank. This latter was much smaller in size than the Reade Street plot, and thus did not seem to be a suitable location for the bank, and inquiries were instituted as to the adjacent property on Broadway; this it developed could be purchased, and Mr. Woolworth decided to acquire both the corner and the lot adjoining. To consummate a purchase of these two plots was a matter more easily determined upon than done; the negotiations which ensued required by their intricate entanglements almost the tact and diplomatic genius of a Machiavelli; it was absolutely essential to a consummation of the deal that the holder of one piece of property should not know of the negotiations with the other; and the situation was complicated by the impossibility of obtaining options from either for more than one day at a time; the purchase of one piece without the other was not desired; and the day upon which, at last, both contracts were irrevocably signed, was one forever to remember. The good news was given by Mr. Woolworth to the directors of the Irving National at a dinner that same evening, and the matter of the plans for a new building for the bank followed in order. After discussion, the directors considered it unwise to exceed a certain stated sum in the construction of the building, and such sum it was found would be insufficient to profitably use the plottage. It was then that Mr. Woolworth began to consider the advisability of obtaining further ground space and erecting a tall office building to bear his name and to be his individual property and investment. More frontage on Broadway was purchased and then on Park Place, and Mr. Woolworth definitely con-

cluded to erect a structure which should exceed in height any building for business purposes in the world. The noted architect, Cass Gilbert, was his selection to draw the plans, and month after month passed by in this important task, but before Mr. Woolworth left for Europe that same year, foundations for an office structure were under way, and a building to cover the then plottage was decided on. Then additional purchases were made of land on Broadway and on Barclay Street, bit by bit rounding out the plot and giving Mr. Woolworth the entire Broadway front from corner to corner. The final and revised plans for a building to cover the total plottage, and which received Mr. Woolworth's approval, were shown to him by Mr. Gilbert in Europe in July, 1910, and, the foundations which had been begun for the lesser building being previously removed, in November, 1910, the new foundations were begun; and one year later, in November, 1911, all things being in readiness, the great Woolworth Building began, story by story, to climb skyward. Less than two years later, in April, 1913, the task was done and the building stood ready and equipped to receive its army of tenants. When at last this "Colossus of the West"—fitting and triumphant mate of any of the Ancients' "Seven Wonders"—stood a completed whole, its majestic supremacy was celebrated by a magnificent banquet, given by Mr. Woolworth in honor of the architect, Cass Gilbert, at which were present more than eight hundred leading men of the metropolis.

It had taken careful management and astute judgment to bring the enterprise thus far, and now to carry it on to a successful conclusion required no less able and keen a director of affairs than Mr. Woolworth. It was a gigantic piece of work; it involved the enormous expenditure of almost fourteen millions of dollars, and all, for its successful consummation, rested upon the shoulders of one man alone. And something else, unusual, unique, in the erection of a "Skyscraper" in New York, now took shape. Instead of following common practice and raising by loan all or a portion of the capital needed for construction, Mr. Woolworth resolved to bear, pay and discharge the total and entire cost himself. And when at last the

mighty structure towered a majestic whole, it was, indeed, with more than ordinary appositeness, the *Woolworth* Building.

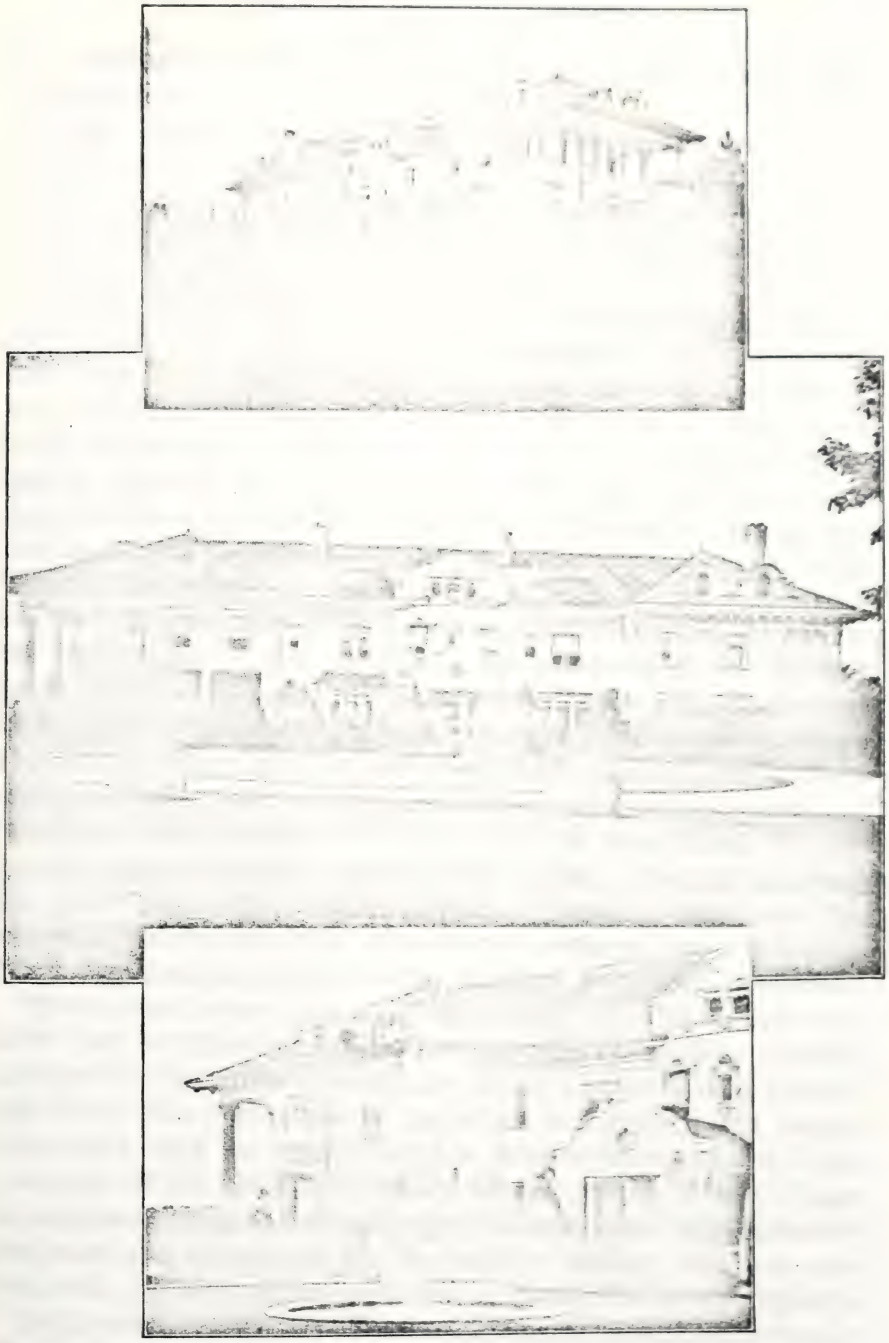
In Gothic lines and beauteous traceries it rises in exalted and solitary grandeur over seven hundred and ninety-two feet above street level and its estimated weight is over two hundred thousand tons; it faces upon three of the most important avenues of traffic in lower Manhattan, at the very pulse of commerce; its outer walls are clothed in all the costly magnificence of polished stone, rich bronze, and dazzling terra cotta; its inner walls boast rare and carefully selected marbles of famed quarries, mosaic ceiled; in every detail, from the basement level to the topmost pinnacle of its tower, within, without, the most remarkable, the most stupendous handiwork of modern man that eye can see or tongue can tell. And to deride all imitation and all competition, in a class by itself, it is the highest building in the world; it is all the property of one man, without one dollar's worth of mortgage or encumbrance.

In 1911, Mr. Woolworth's great chain of stores together with those of his brother, C. S. Woolworth, his cousin, S. H. Knox, and F. M. Kirby, E. P. Charlton, and W. H. Moore, were each held and owned separately; in June of that year the idea for a consolidation of all the interests was broached; and the formation of a corporation to adequately care for the ramified details of the consolidation was considered. Later, after much consideration, a great corporation was formed:—F. W. Woolworth Co. became the official designation of the great amalgamation; Frank W. Woolworth, its great originator, became its President.

Mr. Woolworth has had constructed, on Fifth Avenue at the corner of Eightieth Street, his private residence in the metropolis. On Eightieth Street, also, he has had erected three handsome residences as city homes for each of his three daughters.* At Glen Cove, Long Island, is Mr. Woolworth's extensive country estate, where, until its destruction by fire on November 10, 1916, stood "Winfield Hall," his former beautiful summer home. Upon the same site, now under construction and almost completed, rises a new mansion from the plans of C. P. H.

* Mrs. Hutton's sudden death in 1917 leaves but two daughters surviving of Mr. Woolworth. Mrs. Hutton left a young daughter, her only child.

Gilbert, built of magnificent marbles and other precious materials and involving an expenditure of a million dollars for the building alone. Immediately upon the destruction of "Winfield Hall," Mr. Woolworth conceived the idea for the plans for the marble palace which is now to succeed it; and his designs for the construction of the new residence were so instantly put in execution that although barely more than six months have elapsed since the burning of the former residence, yet within that period the new mansion has been practically carried to completion, and all this, although the new edifice is of a most costly, rich and elaborate description and construction, with every modern conceivable appointment for beauty, elegance and comfort. When completed, it will stand not only one of the most imposing, but the most costly, of the mansions on Long Island, renowned for its many handsome residences, and will also have established a record for the unprecedented rapidity of its construction, by which the stately palace-like walls of gleaming marble have risen into a beauteous and exquisite harmonious completeness. The successful, rapid and perfect consummation of the whole reflects, characteristically, the quick decisiveness with which Mr. Woolworth directs and controls every and all the matters which receive his attention. The design selected by Mr. Woolworth for the new marble mansion displays his fine judgment and taste as to the appropriate type of building for the site to be employed; the manor at Glen Cove, surrounding the dwelling, is most wonderfully situated in the midst of an ideal landscape, with its grounds abounding in rose-clad terraces, rare shrubs, and costly flowers, exquisitely laid out; with delightful vistas on every side, rioting in a wealth of color and of beauty; the whole estate, with its private golf links, its sparkling fountains, its rolling terraces, and all its exquisite appointments, designed not to dazzle or oppress, but to welcome and to cheer, with everything adapted and fitted to the usages of an elegant and thoughtful, and yet apparently almost extemporaneous hospitality; and when enjoying brief hours of relaxation and a well earned rest in town or country, Mr. Woolworth delights in extending the generous hospitality of his home to his friends, the genial and thoughtful host, whose striking, force-



VIEWS OF MR. WOOLWORTH'S COUNTRY HOME, WINFIELD HALL, GLEN COVE, NEW YORK

Destroyed by fire, November 10, 1916, and now being replaced by a marble edifice

ful personality charms by the grace of a strong and virile individuality.

In the highest meaning of the term this master of millions and of men is democratic, his dignified and magnetic personality maintaining a true equality and a rare spirit of good comradeship in all his social relations; his dominating individuality untainted by the slightest hint of ostentation. But it is in his home life that the kindly courtesy and gracious consideration of his nature find their full expression; a devotion to his wife and to his family which has known neither interruption nor diminution, a care for them, an attention to their every need, the strength of their affection has indissolubly bound their hearts together in a unity which only death can terminate. And the home typifies these qualities in its master; in the city residence, the appointments in exquisite harmony and taste, beyond the luxury of the furnishings, radiate the indefinable and ever present glow of a home, not a palatial mansion. Upon the walls hang famous paintings, the products of the world's great masters, the carefully selected collection of their owner; in the library exquisite books within whose handsome bindings the great authors of this and other lands commune with their modern reader; and in the music room an extraordinary and enormous pipe organ which is probably unequalled in any private house within the nation or the world. The fine painting, the good book, the sublime strain of music; these are the exquisite pleasures of Mr. Woolworth's leisure, surrounded by his family and his friends in the midst of home and happiness.

Throughout every phase of his career, Mr. Woolworth has held fast to Christian faith; in him the struggling charity, inspired by Christian precept, has found a never-failing friend; and of the many charities he has aided and good works he has forwarded may be mentioned his remembrance of the little township of his childhood, where to the people of the village he has presented a charming country church, most appropriately designed and appointed for its village setting, and has also bestowed a liberal endowment for its preservation and upkeep.

In his eventful life, Mr. Woolworth has not found opportunity for many leisure hours; for in addition to his guidance and his

headship of the Woolworth company, of his great building, and the management of a vastly accumulated private fortune, he has become largely interested in the realm of finance and of banking, and is a heavy holder in more than one of the great metropolitan banks and trust companies. But in those brief periods which he could snatch from business cares he has traveled extensively abroad and sojourned frequently in the fine capitals and history-crowded provinces and towns of Old World nations; it was not until recently, however, that he took a trip from coast to coast and journeyed to the "land of sunshine," California. From Pasadena, in Southern California, to Seattle, in Washington, Mr. Woolworth and his party toured the Pacific coast, where sunshine, flowers and foliage, blue skies, and fair horizon, combined to make the journey enchantingly delightful. While on this vacation, Mr. Woolworth had his first opportunity to see the Woolworth chain of stores throughout the West; the tentacles of the great company are stretched everywhere throughout this region, and in every city, boasting ten thousand inhabitants or more, of the big states beyond the Mississippi, is one, at least, and sometimes several, of the corporation's thriving, enterprising stores, which have made the name of Woolworth as familiar to the dweller in the West as to any of the denizens of metropolitan New York.

And the man who has done all these things: In personal appearance Mr. Woolworth is of a presence calculated to impress the beholder, of handsome port and mien; strong, erect, his appearance typifies with an unusual precision the character and nature of the man; broadminded, liberal, the manliest of men, his every word and action radiate a vigorous and keen-edged intellect which is at times enlivened by a fund of genuine and kindly humor. Himself a leader in the marts of men, he has held out a helping hand to more struggling and ambitious men, assisted more persons out of poverty into wealth, and raised more men to affluence and high position, than was ever done before by any industrial captain of our country past or present. There are to-day spread over the entire country a veritable host who owe to him advancement, place, fortune, and the happiness they bring; and his loyalty to friends, tried, true

and sterling, has been unbreakable by any adverse stroke of fortune.

He is, indeed, such a man as only the great civilization of the present could produce; and that which he in sober fact has wrought seems in the splendor of its progress like the weird magic of a fairy tale; for to sum up briefly, without peradventure it may now be said he is the greatest living retail merchant in the world, he is without a peer in his achievements, and the great corporation which owns his headship and his guiding hand boasts the largest number of customers for its wares of any business of any type throughout the entire universe, is in its own field the indisputable peer, and in a nation typical of marvels in industry and enterprise, stands forth an industrial and commercial wonder of the age. To all these may be added that he holds in private ownership the very highest business building standing on the earth; heavily interested and actively associated in managing several of the big metropolitan banking institutions; it would be impossible to here cite all the ramifications of his varied interests or adequately to portray the whole that he has done. Captain of industry; merchant leader; financier and banker; director and conductor of a host of things and men; the responsibilities of millions have not made him a machine, but his sympathy with the needy and unfortunate has found utterance in generous assistance, and "his left hand has helped many a man and many a cause of which his right hand makes no record."

And these achievements, this brief history in outline, of this twentieth century wizard of the modern forces, comprises not the work of generations, but Frank W. Woolworth, its author, living, may in his own person view the giant creatures of his brain, his own work, his own creation, the greatest, the most lasting, the most monumental, testimonial he could receive.

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

By Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, M. A., D. C. L.

No. VIII

> Here loyal Bourbons carved the fleur-de-lys
> And flung to Heaven the white flag of their Kings;
> Here Britain's war-ships came with flapping wings—
> What strifes then rent the peace of Acadie!
>
> *Acadian Ballads.*

THE predecessor of Halifax as the capital of Nova Scotia was the little town known as Annapolis Royal. At the head of Annapolis Basin, a beautiful land-locked bay into which as into other bays on the Nova Scotia coast the Bay of Fundy drives daily its fierce-flowing tides, stands this peaceful town. Elms and maples like those of New England and the rest of Nova Scotia line its well-kept streets. Houses that bespeak refinement and comfort, with gardens about them in summer rich with varied bloom, are on every hand. Through the great dykes near the town flows the Annapolis river, while round the wooden piers of a few old wharves the Fundy tides dash twice a day, sometimes bearing on their crests peaceful merchant craft and passenger steamships of moderate size. Above the Basin, on a lifted plateau, near where the "upper town" in the eighteenth century used to stand, is an extensive earthwork lined within with a wall of solid masonry some twelve feet thick and surrounded by a dry moat. Inside the great inclosure which once formed this new-world fort stand the latest barracks ever built here, which are still in a good state of repair. The prosperous town and the ruined fort of Annapolis Royal attract many visitors in summer, but few who walk the streets where the houses stand, or press their feet on the grassy turf of the smooth fields near the fort, have much knowledge of

the long, strange, thrilling story that Annapolis Royal has to tell when she summons from the realm of shadow the many now almost forgotten facts of her historic past.

Save the Spanish settled St. Augustine in Florida, which was founded in 1565, no town on the American continent had its first beginning as early as Annapolis Royal, and save St. Augustine and the English settled Jamestown in Virginia, no town has had so long a continuous existence as a peopled place.[1] Nor in the varied history of French exploration and military conquest in America, does any town except Quebec figure so romantically. "Port Royal," the French explorers called the settlement where in 1604 they first attempted to found the capital of their great forest domain. When at last, however, after more than a century of intermittent strife for ownership of the province of Acadia, the country yielded to the superior skill of British diplomacy and strength of British arms, the English captors of the fort and so conquerors of the province gave the place in honour of the reigning British sovereign, her Majesty Queen Anne, the name it now bears.

For a few years over two centuries now, Nova Scotia, that part of the French province of Acadia that was most settled and in every way best known, has had a comparatively peaceful history, though for thirty-nine years after its final conquest by England in 1710, until Halifax was founded in 1749, there were occasions when at Annapolis Royal great apprehension was felt for the security of British rule over the province, and two or three times when actual attacks on the fort were experienced. But there was an earlier hundred years when hostilities were so many in Acadia, and changes of ownership came so fast that the historian is almost bewildered as he tries to follow closely the

1. St. Augustine was first settled in 1565, and its history has been continuous to the present time. Jamestown, the first settlement made by the English on the continent, dates from May 13, 1607, and its history as a settlement since that time has had no interruption. Annapolis Royal was first visited and temporarily settled in 1604; its history, however, has been continuous only since 1610. For the complete history of Annapolis Royal, the town and fort, two works should be consulted, these are "A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie," by Beamish Murdoch, Q. C., in three volumes, 1865-1867; and an able "History of the County of Annapolis, including Old Port Royal and Acadia, etc.," by William Arthur Calnek and Judge Alfred William Savary, D. C. L., 1897, (with a later supplement by Judge Savary, 1913). Murdoch's history is documentary, but it contains a great deal of graceful writing.

march of events. For these events in Acadia, Port Royal always furnishes the chief setting, small as the place was, rude and often dilapidated as its fortifications were, it symbolized and centred successively the authority of both the great Empires that held nominal sway over Acadia as a transatlantic colonial possession. Within its confines during that first century of its history dwelt renowned explorers like Champlain, DeMonts, and Poutrincourt, some of these nobles of the then gayest court in Europe; cassocked priests of the historic orders of Jesuits and Recollets; eminent Huguenot protesters against the arrogant domination of Rome; and one year the poet Lescarbot, with his vivacious spirit and varied gifts of mind;—while across the seas, amidst the splendor of palaces, on their sometimes unworthy heads resting the glittering circles that denote power, played anxiously for the control of its destinies great sovereigns like the Kings of Navarre, the Stuarts, or Queen Anne. In the hands of such kings and queens indeed the fortunes of Acadia nominally rested, but the men who actually played the great game of empire in which it held a conspicuous place on the board were shrewd, skilful statesmen, who often controlled kings and queens, men like the French Richilieu and Mazarin, of the English Clarendon and Pitt.

In the first nearly forty years of its history after the final conquest of Acadia by England, Annapolis Royal was, as we have said, the capital of Nova Scotia, the name that ever since the conquest the Acadian peninsula has borne, and during those forty years activities went on at Annapolis that since the town was the immediate and only predecessor of Halifax as the Nova Scotian capital it is necessary in sketching the history of the latter town briefly to tell. As the oldest settlement by far, however, in eastern America, with a history full of stirring interest, we may be excused if we run briefly over the whole series of striking events which give Annapolis Royal distinction, from the earliest period of its romantic settlement by French explorers, to the year 1749, when its distinction as a new world capital forever ceased.

What European first set foot on the soil of Acadia we shall never know. Whether the Cabots, father and son, even caught

sight of the peninsula in their successive voyages in 1497 and 1498, or whether Gasparde Cortereal, the resolute Portuguese mariner, who entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1500, in relating the story of his new-world discovery actually described Acadia or not we cannot tell. We do know that the Basque fishermen, in remembrance of a cape on the French coast near Bayonne, sometime in 1504 named the island of Cape Breton. We know also with tolerable certainty that the Italian Verazzano, in 1554 skirted seven hundred leagues of the American coast, from North Carolina to Newfoundland, and gave the country he looked on as he sailed not an Italian name but the name "New France." We are told, also, that an English sea-captain, Master Thomas Thorne of Bristol, in 1527 entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and went as far south as Cape Breton, and "Arambec," the earliest name given the peninsula of Nova Scotia. And we are certain that Jacques Cartier in 1534 visited and was delighted with the northern coast of New Brunswick, and that at Cape Gaspe he formally took possession of the country, erecting there a cross thirty feet high, hanging on it the shield of France, and with pious fraud assuring the Algonquin natives that he had put the monument there only as a landmark for explorers. The sad fate of the forty convicts brought to Sable Island by the Marquis de la Roche in 1598 is also a matter of history. It is said that the Marquis visited the mainland of Nova Scotia with the purpose of selecting there a place to locate his convict colony, before he placed the wretched men who composed it on the barren sands of Sable Isle. Through the rough tides of the Bay of Fundy, however, we are not sure that in the whole sixteenth century a single European vessel ever rode.[2]

Port Royal or Annapolis Royal's history begins with the landing there in the spring of 1604 of Sieur de Monts, who had previously accompanied Chauvin and Pontgravé to the river St. Lawrence, had become possessed with the spirit of new world conquest, which at the beginning of the 17th century took so wide a hold on the popular imagination in France, and had determined

2. In the 16th century, however, European fishermen diligently prosecuted their calling along the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia and on the banks of Newfoundland.

moreover to seek riches in the fur trade on these western shores. There is a French tradition that a little settlement was made in Cape Breton as early as 1541, but except for this, Port Royal was the first settlement ever attempted in any part of the great province of Acadia, of which the peninsula of Nova Scotia was always the most conspicuous part.[3]

In days when there are few worlds left to conquer, and when the spirit of adventure which characterized the sixteenth century explorers is consequently little found, we can hardly imagine the eagerness with which French explorers at the beginning of the seventeenth century sought the American continent, nor the magnificence of the dreams that came to them of vast wealth and power to be gained in these wooded wilds. At the beginning of 1604, the mantle of De Chastes, who in his old age had ardently longed to plant the cross and the *fleur-de-lis* in the forests of New France, but who had died in returning from his first unsuccessful voyage thither, fell on a Calvinist nobleman, Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, gentleman in ordinary of the king's bedchamber, and governor of Pons. Undaunted by the tragic fate of the Marquis de la Roche, who after the melancholy failure of his plans for a convict colony and of all his own political hopes died miserably in 1599, and undiscouraged by the ill success of the later ventures of De Chastes and young Champlain, this nobleman eagerly petitioned the king for leave to colonize *La Cadie* or *Accadie*, a region he described as extending from the fiftieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, or from Philadelphia to Montreal.[4] In the face of some opposition

3. It cannot be said that the boundaries of Acadia as a province of France were ever clearly defined. In the treaty of Utrecht, of 1713, the province is considered as extending from the St. Lawrence river on the north to the Atlantic on the south, and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Strait of Canso on the east, to a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Penobscot on the west, the country thus embracing the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, a portion of Lower Canada or Quebec, and part of the State of Maine, but not the island of Cape Breton. At a much later date, however, the French declared that the province they had ceded by this treaty comprised only about a twentieth part of this great territory, not even the whole of the peninsula of Nova Scotia being included in it. It was thus that until 1755 they persisted in maintaining a fort, Beauséjour, on the isthmus that connects Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Dispute over the boundaries of Acadia, says Parkman, was "a proximate cause of the war of 1755."

4. See Parkman's "Pioneers of France," pp. 240-243. Parkman says that the name *La Cadie* or Acadie is not found in any public document. The word is said to be derived from the Indian word *aquoadiauke* or *aquodie*, supposed to be the fish pollock.

De Monts succeeded with the King and soon obtained a commission as Lieutenant-General of the Country of Cadie, to people, cultivate, and cause to be inhabited the said lands the most speedily,—to search for mines of gold, silver, etc., to build forts and towns and grant lands, to convert the savages to Christianity, and to do generally whatsoever might make for the conquest, peopling, inhabiting, and preservation of the said Acadian land. De Chastes had forestalled the jealousy of the merchants of France of his monopoly by forming a trading company for his enterprise, and this company De Monts now considerably enlarged, at once taking steps to secure colonists for his domain.

By the early spring of 1604 the colony was ready, an incongruous mixture of gentlemen of condition and character and men of low origin and bad reputation, some Protestants, some Roman Catholics, among the Protestants at least being one Huguenot clergyman, and among the Catholics one or more priests. Conspicuous in the company were the ardent young Champlain, and Baron Poutrincourt, a fellow nobleman of De Monts, who shared with the lieutenant-general himself the leadership of the expedition. From Dieppe sailed two vessels of the colonizing fleet and from Havre de Grace two, one of the four destined for Tadoussac, a fur-trading post in Canada, one, also in the interest of the fur trade, for Canso, on the northeastern shore of the Nova Scotian peninsula, and to cruise through the narrow seas that lie between the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island and the Nova Scotian peninsula, two, in immediate charge of De Monts himself, to come to some other part of the peninsula.

In the pages of Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World" will be found in detail the story, more interesting than any romance, of the month's voyage of the French nobleman and his colony across the ocean, of their exploration of the coasts and bays of the southern portion of Nova Scotia, of their discovery of the Basin of Annapolis, enclosed with "sunny hills, wrapped in woodland verdure, and alive with waterfalls," of their removal from here before long to Passamaquoddy Bay, and of their settlement for one sad winter on the little rock-fenced island known as St. Croix.

The first spot in Nova Scotia at which De Monts' vessels came to anchor was La Héve, in what is now Lunenburg County, there they probably disembarked but they soon sailed on to Port Royal. Near the head of the beautiful Annapolis Basin they decided to remain, and before long they threw up there some primitive houses. A few weeks later, however, they determined on further exploration, and a comparatively short sail found them in Passamaquoddy Bay. In this water was the little wooded island of St. Croix, and here they unwisely made up their minds to stay. Going on shore they at once began again to build houses, and soon they had erected "a spacious house" for De Monts and one nearly opposite for Champlain and Sieur D'Orville. In close proxomity to these more pretentious dwellings rose also smaller houses for the colonists at large, barracks for a company of Swiss soldiers who had come with the expedition, necessary workshops of various kinds, and withal a magazine and a rustic church. In a few weeks winter began and with it came terrible hardships and fatal disease. When spring at last opened all that was left of the colony, a pitiful remnant, with De Monts and Champlain returned to Port Royal, and here for two years again they dwelt. In 1707, came the failure of the French Trading Company, which had nourished the enterprise, and with this the rescinding of De Monts' monopoly, and the return of the whole body of colonists to France.

Three years later, in 1610, Pontrincourt, who during the first brief stay of De Monts and his company at Port Royal, had been so delighted with the place that he had begged a grant there for himself,[5] having managed to secure enough influence in France to bring out a new colony, returned to Port Royal and started the settlement afresh. This time the colony was permanent. Again the cleared fields near the head of the Basin began to yield grain crops, and the gardens that three years before had been diligently cultivated, to produce vegetables and fruit. But the place saw many vicissitudes. In the whirligig

5. The contemporary French historian Charlevoix says of Port Royal: "The climate there is temperate, the winter less rough than in many other places on the coast, the game abundant, the country charming, vast meadows environed by large forests, and everywhere fertile lands." It was Poutrincourt who named the place Port Royal.

of seventeenth century European diplomacy the ownership of Acadia repeatedly changed, and it was not until a century from the time of Pontrincourt's coming had passed that this new world province with its capital came finally under British rule.[6] In 1621 England had nominal possession of the country and James the First granted it to Sir William Alexander, a Clackmannanshire baronet, whom he afterwards created Earl of Stirling.[7] From Alexander the country passed to Sir David Kirk, one of the early merchant adventurers of Canada. By the treaty of St. Germains, however, Acadia was restored to France, and Isaac de Razilly was appointed its lieutenant-governor. At De Razilly's death, D'Aulnay Charnisay was made governor, and then began the long historic strife between him and Charles de la Tour, in the climax of which figures so nobly as a defender of her husband's fort in what is now New Brunswick the brave Madame de la Tour.

After the death of Charnisay, Major Robert Sedgwick, an officer of Cromwell's army, the founder of the well known New England Sedgwick family, was ordered by the Protector, who believed that Acadia belonged to England by right of discovery, to seize Port Royal and again take possession of Nova Scotia for England. The capture being effected, Acadia was distributed by grant among Sir Charles St. Stephen, Charles de la Tour, Thomas Temple, and William Crowne. In 1667 by the treaty of Breda the province was again ceded to France, but in 1690 England once more acquired it. Seven years later, however, by the Peace of Ryswick it was restored to its first owners.

During these many changes of ownership the French population of Nova Scotia slowly grew. The settlers who came with Poutrincourt were added to in 1632 by Razilly's "three hundred *hommes d'elite,*" others came with Charnisay between 1639 and 1649, still others with Charles de la Tour in 1651, and a few

6. The first attack on Port Royal by an English force was in the latter part of 1613. At that time Captain Samuel Argall, afterwards deputy-governor of Virginia, came from Virginia under orders from Sir Thomas Dale, governor of that colony, with a ship mounting fourteen guns, to reduce the French settlements of Mt. Desert, St. Croix, and Port Royal. His attack on Port Royal resulted in the destruction of the fort, and probably the capture of the little force which defended it, and the taking of the men as prisoners to France. The settlement, however, went on. See for Argall's history the biographical encyclopoedias.

7. It is in Alexander's grant that the name "Nova Scotia" first appears.

independent groups at later times. Besides the humbler folk, who constituted the bulk of the population, many of these being peasants from Saintonge and Poiteau, were a few aristocratic families like the D'Entremonts and Belleisles, who as well as the La Tours held extensive baronies or fiefs not far from Annapolis from the French king, and whose representatives when the province was finally ceded to Britain went back permanently to France.[8] From Annapolis inward to the rich Minas Basin country this peasant population extended, growing by natural increase and by slight immigration, until by the time of the final cession of the country to England that part of it that lived in and near Port Royal alone numbered something like seven hundred souls.

In all pioneer colonization enterprises there is untold romance if we could know the secret springs of action and inner experiences of the people who bring these enterprises to successful issue. The outward facts of the colonization of new countries are often unrelieved, however, by anything poetic or exhilarating to the fancy. But this is not true of the colonizing of Port Royal,—before the failure of the French Trading Company and the rescinding of De Monts' monopoly, the sprightly Frenchmen who conducted the affairs of the settlement brought grace and good fellowship into the colony's simple life. Neither Parkman nor any other historian of Acadia, English or French, has failed to describe for us with glowing imagination the interchange of polished courtesies and the successful attempts at simple elegance which characterized the forest life of these French pioneers. The second winter the colonists spent at Port Royal Champlain founded there the jovial *Ordre de Bon Temps*, numbering fifteen, which comprised the whole group of nobles

8. About 1650 Charles de la Tour brought with him from France a gentleman of Normandy, who claimed relationship with the Bourbons, and whom Louis Fourteenth created Sieur d' Entremont. He had been one of La Tour's early friends and when the adventurers reached Port Royal La Tour made him his major and gave him the seignory of Poubomcoup or Pubnico, in Yarmouth, and the title of Baron. D'entremont's eldest son, Jacques, married Anne, daughter of La Tour and previously wife of Charnisay, and the daughter of Jacques and Anne, Marie D'Entremont, in 1705 became the wife, much against his superior officer's wishes, of Sieur Duvivier, a young officer of the fort. At the time of the expulsion of the Acadians Jacques D'Entremont and his family were taken to Boston, but afterward some of the sons returned to Nova Scotia. From these are descended the D'Entremonts now in Nova Scotia.

and gentlemen adventurers who were associated in the settlement of the place. The principal entertainment of this brotherhood was a weekly *bon vivant* dinner, conducted with much of the ceremony the group were accustomed to in the chateaus of France. As steward for the day of the dinner each man of the fifteen took his turn, and when the hour for dining arrived with the jewelled collar of the order adorning his neck and with a napkin on his shoulder and the staff of his office and an important dish in his hand would lead the group in procession into the room where the meal was served. When the meal was done this functionary would formally resign his office, pledging his next successor gracefully in a cup of wine.[9] As food the Order had moose and caribou steaks, grouse, wild ducks, sturgeon, and salmon, for the woods were plentiful in game and the river and the Basin abounded with fish. A constant guest at these dinners was the Micmac chief Membertou, whose speedy conversion to Christianity we may, not uncharitably, suppose was influenced in some degree by the hospitality the Order extended to him. First fruit of the zeal of Roman Catholic missionaries in the American wilds was this wrinkled centenarian Chief Membertou, who with a group of his people was baptized into Christianity at Annapolis on the 24th of June in the year 1610.[10]

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9. A good and joyous company of gentlemen," says Ferland, "was united about Poutrincourt, among whom were to be remarked his son the young Biencourt, Champlain, Lescarbot, Louis Hébert, and probably Claude de la Tour as well as his young son, Charles Amadour de la Tour."

10. The permanent founding of Port Royal by Poutrincourt excited much interest among women of the French nobility zealous for the church, and some of these, like the Marquise de Guercheville, wife of the first esquire of the King, the Marchioness de Vermeuil, Madame de Sourdis, and Marie de Medicis herself, gave personal encouragement and pecuniary aid to the religious work of converting the Acadian natives. The first priest to come to Port Royal was Josue Fléche. This Jesuit father reached there with Poutrincourt in 1610, and it was he who baptized the chief, Membertou, and a group of his people, somewhere near the shore of the Basin, June 24, 1610. The year after two more Jesuits, Pére Pierre Biard, a native of Grenoble and Pére Evemond or Raimond Masse were sent out chiefly under the auspices and through the aid of Madame de Guercheville. These men, who by their devout and humble conduct gained the esteem of the Protestant sailors of the ship which brought them out, on landing at once set themselves to the task of learning the Micmac language. In a short time they were joined by two others, Pére Guilbert du Thet and Pére Quentin, the former of whom died during Argall's attack on Port Royal in 1613. After Argall's destruction of the settlement it is probable the other three priests returned to France. In 1619 the Jesuits' places in Acadia were taken by three Recollet priests, sent by one or more merchant companies who had obtained the right to carry on the fishery and buy furs in this part of the new world. These priests, who belonged to the province of Aquitaine, laboured with more

Another incident of historic importance in connexion with the residence of these vivacious Frenchmen at Port Royal at this early time should here be recalled. In this primitive settlement Marc Lescarbot wrote some at least of the poems that he published at Paris in a volume entitled *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*, in 1609. One of these poems was a masque that bore the title *Theatre de Neptune*, which was not only written at Port Royal but was played there under the author's management shortly after it was written. The occasion of the writing and playing of it Lescarbot himself describes for us in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. In the autumn of 1606, Poutrincourt, the head of the little company at Port Royal went off on a cruise along the New England coast. The season grew late and the voyager had not returned. At last, however, his ship was sighted in the Basin, and on the 14th of November he dropped anchor at the shore. "Just as we were looking for his return (with great longing, for had ill befallen him we should have been in danger of confusion)," says Lescarbot, "I bethought myself of setting forth some piece of merriment, which we did. And as it was written hurriedly in French rhymes I have put it in *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*," under the title of *Théâtre de Neptune*, to which the reader is referred." The masque was "*représentée sur les flots du Port Royal le quatorziéme de Novembre mille six cens six, au retour du Sieur de Poutrincourt du pais des Armouchiquois.*" Thus we have given at Port Royal in 1606 the first play ever performed by Europeans on the whole North American continent. The characters in the masque were

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or less success in Acadia until 1627, when they were driven from the province by the English. In 1633, however, on the invitation of de Razilly, who had been sent out to take possession of Port Royal on behalf of the company of New France, they resumed their mission, and before many years they converted all the Micmacs permanently to their faith. In 1753, the French had six churches in the Peninsula of Nova Scotia, one at Annapolis Royal, with Monsieur des Enclaves as priest, one at Cobequid, two at Pisiquid, one at Minas, and one at Riviere aux Canard.

Chief Membertou is a notable figure in the earliest days of Port Royal's history. He was very old when the explorers first found him, his memory going back to the time of Cartier's visit in 1534. In his day he had been a famous autmoin or medicine man, and had been believed by his people to have magical powers. Like others of his tribe he was a great story-teller and he used to sit cross-legged on the ground telling his new friends marvellous tales of the prowess of his people or of his own exploits in past times. The bowl of the pipe he smoked as he sat telling his stories was made either of a lobster's claw or of red or green stone, and the tube was decorated with porcupine quills.

Neptune, six Tritons, four Indians, and a jovial attendant. To celebrate the leader's return the fort also was decorated with laurel.[11]

A hundred and thirty-eight years later, when Port Royal as Annapolis Royal was the capital of the English owned province of Nova Scotia, another play was acted here, "for the entertainment of the officers and ladies" of the place. Of the subject and treatment and of the performance of the play we know nothing, but in the prologue, "compos'd and spoke on that occasion" occurred the following lines:

> "Whilst to relieve a generous Queen's distress,
> Whom proud, ambitious Potentates oppress,
> Our King pursues the most effectual Ways,
> Soothes some to Peace, and then the Storm allays;
> And against others, who're more loath to yield,
> He leads his *Britons* to the *German* Field:
> Where to his Cost th' insulting Foe has found
> What 'tis with Britons to dispute the Ground:
> We still enjoying Peace in this cold Clime,
> With innocent Diversions pass our Time."[12]

In 1689, Sir William Phips, then in England, was commissioned to lead on his return to Massachusetts a fresh expedition against Port Royal. Accordingly on the 9th of May, 1690, a squadron consisting of a brigate of forty guns, two sloops, one of sixteen guns, the other of eight, and four ketches, left Boston, the land force these ships carried numbering some seven hundred men. The governor of Acadia, Monsieur de Menneval, had

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11. This striking event is described by the late Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay in the *Nation* of February 11, 1909. The first American play in what is now English-speaking America was written and acted, says Mr. Gay, at Annapolis in 1606, "two years before Quebec was founded, and while Shakespeare was yet alive." The composition of the masque and the occasion of acting it are described in Book 4, chapter 16 of Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*. The poem is the third piece in *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*. It consists of two hundred and forty-two rhymed lines. Lescarbot was very versatile. From making poetry he would turn to raising vegetables and digging the moat round the fort, from furnishing entertainment for the soldiers on week days to leading their prayers on Sundays. He seems to have acted as commissary for the community, directing the men's hunting and fishing, and regulating the supplies of food when it was obtained, and of drink.

12. A notice of this play occurs in the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (monthly) for April, 1744. "A. B." asks the editor of the magazine kindly to insert the following: "We hear from Annapolis Royal that a play was acted the last winter for the entertainment of the Officers and Ladies at that Place," then giving as part of the prologue of the play the lines printed above.

at his capital a force of only eighty-six soldiers, and almost immediately the fort surrendered. At once Phips assembled such of the inhabintants of Port Royal and the country about as he could get together and made them take an oath of fidelity to William and Mary, who were then on the English throne. De Menneval the governor, thirty-nine French soldiers, and two priests he carried with him to Boston. The next year, however, the French recaptured the place and again took formal possession of all Acadia in the name of their king.

The final conquest of Acadia by England was effected in 1710. In the early summer of 1707, a fresh attack was made on Port Royal by New England troops, but this the governor, Subercase, successfully repulsed. The engagement between the besiegers and the garrison force was a brisk one, and when it was over, eighty or ninety New England soldiers lay dead on the ground outside the fort. That the garrison was able so successfully to withstand the attack was due to the arrival twelve hours before the New England vessels anchored in the Basin of sixty Canadians, who helped their fellow countrymen in the fort's defence. In this engagement the Baron St. Castin, who was present, gave his fellow countrymen valuable aid. A little later in the summer, Governor Dudley at Boston sent fresh troops against Port Royal, but these in turn were likewise forced to withdraw. In 1708, however, Samuel Vetch went from Massachusetts to England to solicit aid for the conquest of both Canada and Acadia, and his efforts to interest the home government met with success. In the spring of 1709, having been made a colonel, he sailed for America with her Majesty's commands to the several New England governors to furnish men for the undertaking. In this year the ambitious, impetuous Colonel Francis Nicholson, who first and last was governor of more colonies than any other person known to history, desiring as strongly as Vetch to see the power of France overthrown in America, and no doubt eager for military distinction, also went to England with passionate desire to promote this enterprise. In May, 1710, he returned to Boston armed with the Queen's commission and at once began the work of raising troops. By September a fleet was ready, and on the 18th of that month there sailed from Nantasket, with Nicholson

as general and Vetch as adjutant-general, a group of English warships, a bomb ship, the Massachusetts province galley, some transports, hospital and store ships, and other vessels, about thirty-six sail in all, besides a number of open sloops for carrying lumber and necessary utensils for operating the cannon. Of land forces on the transports went five regiments of foot commanded severally by colonels Robert Reading, Sir Charles Hobby, William Tailer, William Whiting, and Shadrach Walton, the grenadiers of Walton's regiment being commanded by Captain Paul Mascarene, who after the capture was effected remained at Annapolis and finally became there lieutenant governor of the province and lieutenant governor of the fort and town. On the 24th of September the fleet reached the entrance to Annapolis Basin, and on the 25th landed near the fort. Immediately the French under Monsieur Subercase, who commanded in the fort, fired on the invaders, who quickly answered with guns and shells. By night and day the fight actively continued, until at length on the 29th the garrison asked for a truce. After two days of diplomatic correspondence between the commanders terms of capitulation were adopted and on the 2nd of October were formally signed. Three days later Vetch received the keys of the fort, and on the 16th, Subercase with his small force of a hundred and fifty men, "all in a miserable condition, in rags and tatters," passed out of the gates. With drums beating and flags flying the troops of her Britannic Majesty then briskly marched in.[13]

The capture thus effected, Major Livingston and Baron St. Castin were at once sent to the governor of Canada, the Marquis de Vandreuil, to inform him of the fact, and on the 28th of Oc-

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13. It is said that 480 persons, including the garrison, soon after this sailed to Rochelle, in France. "Thus for the sixth time," says the Calnek-Savary history of Annapolis, "Port Royal, a hundred and five years after its foundation, became by conquest a possession of the English crown, but not as ever before to pass from its rule either by treaty or conquest."

The most detailed account of the capture in 1710 is to be found in the "Year Book of the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Publication No. 3, Boston, 1897," pp. 81-126. The article describing it is entitled: "The Expeditions against Port Royal in 1710 and Quebec in 1711," and covers pp. 81-143. Whatever muster rolls of this expedition are preserved in the Mass. Archives are here reproduced. See also "Indian Wars of New England," by Herbert Milton Sylvester, Vol. 3, pp. 127-131; and "Narrative and Critical History of America."

tober, having garrisoned the fort with two hundred marines and two hundred and fifty New England militiamen, Nicholson returned to Boston leaving Vetch in command. With the general went also the men-of-war and the transports which he had brought for the attack. Elated with his victory Nicholson next went to England to beg the crown to take measures for the conquest of Canada. On the 11th of April, 1713, a treaty of peace, to which France, England, Holland, Portugal, Russia, and Savoy were parties, was signed at Utrecht, and on the 22nd of May was formally signed at Paris. By the twelfth article of this treaty France renounced forever all claim to Nova Scotia or Acadia, while it was agreed that Cape Breton and the islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence should still remain French possessions. Soon after, the king, Louis Fourteenth, made a formal act of cession of Nova Scotia to England, conformable to the treaty.

The first English governor of Nova Scotia, Colonel Vetch, received his commission as "Adjutant General of all her Majesty's of Great Britain's forces, General and Commander-in-Chief of all her troops in these parts, and governor of the Fort of Annapolis Royal and country of L'Accady and Nova Scotia," October 22, 1710. Two years later, however, October 20, 1712, General Nicholson, man of many governorships, received a similar commission, but on the 20th of January, 1715, Vetch was again commissioned governor. After this we have at Annapolis Royal during the period that the town remained the capital of Nova Scotia a rather bewildering number of governors and lieutenant-governors, some of these having control of the province at large, some of the fort and town, the authority of the two sets occasionally clashing, until at last all power in Nova Scotia, civil and military was centered in one governor-in-chief, and one lieutenant-governor, who, in the absence of the chief from the province for many years until Halifax was founded, held virtually supreme general and local control. To give lists of these governors and lieutenant-governors, and to describe briefly the men, must occupy a few pages here before we pass on to other facts.

GOVERNORS-IN-CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF NOVA

SCOTIA, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS, 1710-1749.

I. Colonel Samuel Vetch. He was commissioned October 22, 1710.

II. General Francis Nicholson. His commission bears date October 20, 1712.

III. Colonel Samuel Vetch. He was commissioned again January 20, 1715.

IV. Colonel Richard Philipps. Date of commission August 17, 1717. He seems to have received a second commission March 12, 1725, and a third June 20, 1727.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA WITH THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS, 1710-1749.

I. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Armstrong. Commissioned February 8, 1725.

II. Major Jean Paul Mascarene. Commissioned May 27, 1740.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF THE TOWN AND GARRISON OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS, 1710-1749.

I. Sir Charles Hobby. He received instructions to act, from Colonel Vetch, July 5, 1711. See the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1911, vol. 1.[14]

II. Major or Colonel Thomas Caulfeild. He was probably appointed in 1713, for in that year he appears in the "Governor's Letter-Book." See *Nova Scotia Archives*, vol. 2, p. 1. Caulfield's last letter in the Letter-Book bears date December 24, 1716.

III. Captain John Doucett. Commissioned May 15, 1717. He arrived at Annapolis Royal October 28, 1717. He died November 19, 1726. See *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, vol. 1, p. 172.

IV. Captain Lawrence Armstrong. He was appointed by Royal Commission September 21, 1726.

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14. This publication is compiled by Charles M. Andrews of Yale University. See also Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," Vol. 2, p. 140; and Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, Boston," Vol. 1, p. 175.

V. Major Alexander Cosby. He was appointed by Royal Commission March 4, 1727. See *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1911, vol. 1. He took oath October 20, 1727, and held office probably until his death in 1742, when Major Mascarene succeeded. See *Nova Scotia Archives*, vol. 3, pp. 165, 166. Major Cosby's wife was Anne Winniett. Cosby died at Annapolis Royal December 26 or 27, 1742.

VI. Major Jean Paul Mascarene. Major Mascarene succeeded to the lieutenant-governorship of the town and fort on the death of Cosby in 1742, but he apparently did not receive a formal commission for the office until 1744. He was still lieutenant-governor of the town and fort, as he was of the province at large, when Cornwallis came in 1749.

Precisely who these various officials were it will be interesting for us to know. The three Governors-in-Chief of the province, as we have seen, were Vetch, Nicholson, and Philipps, the two Lieutenant-Governors of the province were Armstrong and Mascarene. The five Lieutenant-Governors of the town and Fort of Annapolis Royal were Hobby, Caulfeild, Doucett, Cosby, and Mascarene. That two sets of lieutenant-governors should exist in Nova Scotia at the same time was not originally contemplated by the government. This we learn from a letter written by Governor Philipps to the home government probably in 1741. Elsewhere, the reason for Colonel Armstrong's appointment as first lieutenant-governor of the province is explained in the following way. When Armstrong in 1725 became lieutenant-colonel of the 40th regiment he found himself subject to the control of an officer of lower rank in his own regiment, for Captain John Doucett of this regiment was then lieutenant-governor of the town and fort. This state of things seemed to him anomalous and was unsatisfactory and he consequently applied to be made lieutenant-governor of the province. His request was granted but neither he nor his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Mascarene received any salary for this office. After Armstrong's death, Colonel Philipps, in the letter of his to which we have referred, expressed his hope that the office would be discontinued, but Mr. Mascarene's appeal for the place succeeded, and he held the lieutenant-governorship until 1749.

Colonel Samuel Vetch, the first governor-in-chief of the province, was a Scotsman, "the son of a godly minister and a glorifier of God in the Grass Market" of Edinburgh. In 1698 he was one of the seven councillors who constituted the local government of the colony of Caledonia, a Scotch settlement established temporarily at Darien, a little south of the Isthmus of Panama. In 1699 he came to New York, where, or at Albany, on the 20th of December, 1700, he married Margaret Livingston, daughter of Robert Livingston, Esq., of Albany. Being adjutant-general under Nicholson of the expedition against Port Royal in 1710, after the capture of the fort he formally received the keys, and on the 22nd of October, 1710, received the commission of "Adjutant-general of all her Majasty's of Great Britain's forces, General and Commander-in-Chief of all her troops in these parts, and governor of the fort of Annapolis Royal and country of L'Accady and Nova Scotia." This important position he held until the 20th of October, 1712, when General Francis Nicholson received a similar commission and became his successor.[15]

Of Nicholson's relation to the government at Annapolis Royal, as of his remarkable career in general, the facts are too well known to make it necessary for us to dwell on them here at length. Nicholson was successively lieutenant-governor of New England in 1688, New York in 1689, Virginia in 1690, and Maryland from 1692 to 1698. In the latter year he was appointed governor-in-chief of Virginia, but in 1710 he was appointed to command the expedition against Port Royal. His commission as General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and Governor of Nova Scotia and the town and garrison of Annapolis Royal is dated at Windsor Castle, as we have said, the 20th of October, 1712. In less than three years he was supplanted in his governorship of Nova Scotia and of Annapolis Royal by Vetch, who received a second commission as governor of "the country and town" January 20, 1715. During Nicholson's term of office it is said that this second governor

15. For Samuel Vetch, see the "Dictionary of National Biography," where his father also receives notice. See, also, "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," Vol. 4, from p. 11 and from p. 64.

of the province and the fort made but one short visit to Nova Scotia, his lieutenant from at least 1713, being Major Thomas Caulfeild, a cadet, it is probable, of the English house of Charlemont.[16]

On the 17th of August, 1717, Colonel Richard Philipps was commissioned governor of Nova Scotia and of Placentia in Newfoundland, and captain-general of the forces in both colonies. Philipps was born somewhere in England in 1661, became lieutenant in Lord Morpeth's regiment of foot February 23, 1678, and served under William III. in the war against his father-in-law James. In October, 1719, he reached Boston on his way to Annapolis Royal, but he did not hurry to his post, giving as his reason that navigation of the Bay of Fundy was "impracticable." On the 6th of April, 1720, however, he left for Nova Scotia, and at Annapolis on the 25th of the same month he organized the council. In 1721, some time after the 17th of May, he left the province again, and we do not find him there until November 20, 1729. On the last date he landed in the river from Canso, and before the council, the garrison, and the inhabitants caused a new commission he had received to be "publicly opened and read." In August, 1731, he left his government again and returned to England, and although he never visited Nova Scotia after that he remained nominally governor until Cornwallis succeeded him in 1749. Philipps belonged to a family in South Wales, founded there, it is said, by a certain Sir John Philipps, Baronet. His wife was a sister of Colonel Alexander Cosby, but whether he had children or not we do not know. He died in England, apparently a general, in 1751. In 1726 the name of an Ensign Erasmus James Philipps appears in the Nova Scotia council minutes, in 1730 this gentleman was admitted to the council board itself. When the published minutes of the council end, in August, 1736, he is still a member of the board. What relation this Philipps was to the governor we do not know, but he is said to have been a relative.[17]

16. In a note at the bottom of page 1, Vol. 2, of "Nova Scotia Archives," Dr. Mac Mechan, editor of vols. 2 and 3 of the Archives says that Lt. Governor Caulfeild must have been a son of the 2nd Viscount Charlemont or one of the Viscount's brothers.

17. For Col. Richard Philipps, see the "Dictionary of National Biography," and also "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society," vols. 2, pp. 22-24, and 5, pp. 69-76. Also, "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series."

Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Armstrong was commissioned an ensign in 1699, then a captain of the 40th in 1717. December 1, 1720, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the 40th and took chief command of the troops at Annapolis. At this time, as we have previously shown, Captain Doucett was lieutenant-governor of the fort and town, in the absence of Governor Philipps, and the position he held gave him command over the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. Dissatisfaction at such a state of things naturally at once arose in the mind of Armstrong, as Doucett's superior officer in the 40th, and accordingly the lieutenant-colonel went to England and asked to be made lieutenant-governor of the province, an office that after Armstrong's death Philipps said it had not originally been the government's intention to create. The commission Armstrong asked was granted, and on the 8th of February, 1725, he was made lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, an appointment he held for the rest of his life.[18] When he came back as lieutenant-governor after the province, says Colonel Mascarene, writing to Governor Shirley in 1748, "trouble arose between him and the lieutenant-governor of the fort, the officers siding some one way and some another."[19]

On the 23rd of December, 1731, Armstrong petitioned the Privy Council for payment for his services during the absence of Governor Philipps, from May 29, 1725, the date no doubt when he actually assumed the lieutenant-governorship, until June 20, 1729, which we suppose was the date when Philipps again arrived in the province (probably at Canso) to take upon himself once more in person the control of public affairs. Armstrong's petition to the Privy Council, however, was dismissed by that body as not coming under its jurisdiction.[20] Colonel Lawrence was evidently a nervous, sensitive man and none too robust, and the cares of his double position so weighed upon him

18. This is probably the date of Armstrong's first commission as lieutenant-governor. He was at Canso, we believe, from before the date of his appointment, until September 17, 1726, for on the latter date he arrived from Canso. On the 21st of September he laid before the Council his commission as "Lieutenant Governor of his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia," and took the prescribed oaths. *Nova Scotia Archives*, Vol. 2, p. 171, and Vol. 3, pp. 124, 125.

19. See Mascarene's letter to Shirley in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st series. Vol. 6, pp. 120-126. See also "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 171.

20. "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series," Vol. 3, p. 308 (section 226).

that at last his mind became impaired, and in a fit of melancholy he stabbed himself with his sword on the night of the 5th of December, 1739. Mr. Murdoch's estimate of him is undoubtedly correct, he was, says this historian, a man of "broad and liberal views, calm, mild, and considerate." He died, we believe, unmarried.

A name that stands out more prominently and for a longer time perhaps than any other in the history of Annapolis Royal during the period we are reviewing is that of Jean Paul Mascarene. This gentleman was of a Huguenot family of Castras, in the province of Languedoc, his father being a lawyer and a prominent man in the Protestant community there. Educated at Geneva, and naturalized in England in 1706, in 1708 Paul became a 2nd lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment, but the next year was detached from his regiment for service in the proposed expedition for the conquest of Canada. Embarking in the frigate *Dragon,* which left Spithead March 11, 1709, Nicholson and Vetch, and also Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, being fellow passengers with him, he sailed for Boston, where after a long and disagreeable voyage he landed on the 29th of April. In 1710, when the force was organizing for the reduction of Annapolis, he was given a captaincy in Colonel Shadrach Walton's regiment, and after the capture of Annapolis he remained in service there, soon receiving the commission of major. When the Fortieth regiment was organized, in 1717, he was commissioned its senior captain, and in 1720 when Governor Philipps arrived, was chosen one of the first members of the council the governor formed. In 1739 he became major of the Fortieth, in 1740, after Armstrong's death, he was made lieutenant-governor of the province of Nova Scotia, and in 1742 (though formally commissioned such, it would seem, not until 1744), he succeeded Major Cosby as lieutenant-governor of the fort and the town. These several important positions he still held when Governor Cornwallis came from England to found the new capital, Halifax, in 1749. Of his assumption in 1742, at Colonel Cosby's decease, of the office of lieutenant-governor of the fort and town, in addition to the lieutenant-governoship of the province, he writes to Governor Shirley in 1748: "At Colonel Cosby's de-

cease, and in the absence of Governor Philipps, the whole authority and power, both civil and military, became vested in me, and was further corroborated when Her Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint me lieutenant-colonel of the regiment and lieutenant-governor of the garrison."[21]

When Governor Cornwallis arrived at Chebucto in 1749 he at once sent for Mascarene and the members of the council at Annapolis, whose commissions by his own appointment as governor-in-chief had now been withdrawn, and as a matter of course the first person on the list of new councillors he created on board the *Beaufort*, in the harbour, was Colonel Mascarene. The next year, however, the old lieutenant-governor sold his army commission for two thousand eight hundred pounds to Charles Lawrence and returned to Boston, having up to that time been absent from his family for nearly twelve years. Shortly after he left the province he was at Fort St. George, near the Penobscot, as a commissioner from Nova Scotia to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. From this time, however, with probably only one short interval, he remained at his Boston home, enjoying the society of his daughters and son and his friends at large. Among these, we are told, were Sir Harry Frankland, Sir William Pepperrell, the elder, and President Holyoke of Harvard College, whose daughter his son John had married. "His last public service, so far as I have been able to discover," says his biographer and descendant, Mr. James Mascarene Hubbard, "was to attend in 1754 a conference with the Indians at Falmouth." In January, 1758, he was gazetted major-general in the army. Two years later, January 22, 1760, he died, his remains being deposited in the Granary Burying Ground. He was in his seventy-fifth year.

Mascarene's long, valuable service to the province of Nova Scotia has often been described, but if we want to know it in fullest detail we must follow it in the archives of Nova Scotia, printed and unprinted, and in the voluminous correspondence of Major Mascarene himself. His life was one of the most active and able in the annals of the province, a good deal of his time,

21. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st series, Vol. 6, pp. 121, 122.

especially in winter, he spent in Boston, but during the nearly forty years that Annapolis Royal was the capital of Nova Scotia, he discharged the duties of his several offices there, civil and military, with the greatest faithfulness and usually with statesmen-like and accomplished military skill. In dealing with the French and Indians, in regulating and controlling, either at Annapolis or at Canso, the internal affairs of the garrison and the town, in carrying to a successful issue many other difficult matters of local governmental administration, he showed not only firm integrity and kindly purpose, but tactful business judgment and wisdom in dealing with men. Much of the enjoyment of his leisure hours he obtained from reading, but he lived also in close friendly intercourse with his fellow officers and the other leading men of Annapolis Royal. He married in Boston a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Perry, and this lady bore him four children, three daughters and a son. Of his daughters one died unmarried, but the others were married, like his son, into prominent Boston families. His house stood in School Street, a little east of the site of the present city hall.[22]

Sir Charles Hobby, first lieutenant-governor of the town and fort of Annapolis Royal, a son of William Hobby of Boston, a merchant, and his wife Ann, was a gentleman of rather luxurious and worldly tendencies, who attained a good deal of prominence in military affairs in New England and was very conspicuous in Boston's social life. When Governor Joseph Dudley was given official welcome to his government in 1702, this magnate rode, says Judge Sewall, in Major Hobby's coach, drawn by

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22. Sketches of Masacerene's life and conspicuous notices of him in American books and periodicals are many. Probably the fullest sketch is that of Mr. James Mascarene Hubbard of Boston, a descendant, read first before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, and afterwards printed as an appendix to the "History of the Fortieth (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment, now 1st Battalion the Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment) from its Formation in 1717 to 1893," by Captain R. H. Raymond Smythies, 1894, pp. 620. Encyclopoedias of American Biography; the "Memorial History of Boston" (Vol. 2, p. 555); the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. 9; the "Correspondence of William Shirley," Vol. 1; the *Boston Weekly Journal* for January 15, 1728, and many other sources (besides the Nova Scotia Archives) will be found to yield information concerning this eminent man.

Mr. Mascarene was long on the vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, and about 1749 he gave fifty pounds sterling for rebuilding the church. His son, John, a graduate of Harvard, was comptroller of H. M. Customs in Boston; he died in 1778. His daughters married, one into the Hutchinson, one into the Perkins family.

six horses, "richly harnessed." But before long Hobby was set up by the Bostonians as a rival to Dudley, and was prevailed upon to go to England to try to obtain the governship for himself. "Besides the opposition he [Dudley] met with in his administration," says Governor Hutchinson, "endeavours were using soon after his arrival to supplant him and his enemies prevailed upon Sir Charles Hobby (who had been knighted as some said for fortitude and resolution at the time of the earthquake in Jamaica, others for the further consideration of £800 sterling) to go to England and solicit the government. He was recommended to Sir H. Ashurst, who at first gave encouragement of success. Hobby was a gay man, a free liver, and of very different behaviour from what one would have expected should have recommended him to the clergy of New England; and yet, such is the force of party prejudice that it prevails over religion itself, and some of the most pious ministers strongly urged in their letters that he might be appointed their governor instead of Dudley; for which Ashurst himself, after his acquaintance with Hobby reproves and censures them."[23] In 1710, Hobby was given command of one, and Col. William Tailer of the other, of the two Massachusetts regiments sent to the successful capture of Port Royal. After the capture he was made "deputy governor" of Annapolis Royal, but as he went almost immediately with Nicholson to the conquest of Canada, he must have remained a very short time at his post. He married, but it is said left no children. He died in 1715, but although he had lived in much style in his "mansion" in Marlborough (now Washington) Street, his estate was insolvent. His inventory, however, showed among other properties no less than six slaves. His widow was buried in Boston, November 17, 1716. Both Sir Charles Hobby and his father, William, were officially connected with King's Chapel, his father having been a very early supporter of that church.

Major Thomas Caulfeild (often spelled, probably wrongly, Caulfield) may have received his appointment as lieutenant-

23. Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts," Vol. 2, pp. 140, 141. (See also the "Annals of King's Chapel" (both vols.), and "History of the Ancient and Honorable Society," Vol. I.

governor of the town and fort of Annapolis Royal in 1713, for he was acting as lieutenant-governor, we believe, late in that year. His last letter in the "Governor's Letter-Book" bears date December 24, 1716, and he probably soon after this left Nova Scotia. February 2, 1744, he was "an officer belonging to the American Regiment serving at Rattan,"[24] after which period we have not tried to follow his career.

Captain John Doucett of the 40th regiment was commissioned lieutenant-governor of the town and garrison on the 15th of May, 1717. Of his origin and early education we know nothing, we do not know whether he was related to other Doucetts at Annapolis Royal or not. He arrived at Annapolis the 28th of October, 1717,[25] as we learn from the Governor's Letter-Book, and November 5th wrote the Secretary of War in England a description of the fort. When Governor Philipps formed his council in 1720 it was in Doucett's house in the fort, and in the house the council almost unvaryingly met until Doucett's death, which took place on the 19th of November, 1726. Of the family of this lieutenant-governor of Annapolis Royal, if he had one, we have no knowledge at all.

Major Alexander Cosby, appointed by Royal Commission "Lieutenant-Governor of the Town and the Fort," March 4, 1727, was a brother of Brigadier-General William Cosby, colonel of the 18th Rhode Island regiment and also governor of New York. In 1717 he was commissioned major of the 40th at Annapolis, and March 22, 1739, lieutenant-colonel of the 40th. As lieutenant-governor of the town and fort he took oath October 20, 1727.[26] On the 24th of June, 1731, Major Mascarene moved in the council that he objected to taking his place at the board under the Hon. Lieutenant-Governor Cosby, whom Governor Philipps had recently "thought fit" to appoint president of the council, giving as his reason that he was an elder councillor. His Excellency laconically answered that he believed himself empowered to appoint whatever member he thought fit to sit as

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24. "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series," Vol. 3, p. 763.

25. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 1.

26. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 3, pp. 165, 166. "Annual Report of the American Historical Association," (1911), Vol. 1.

president. Major Mascarene having no recourse, then desired that his protest and the governor's answer to it should be recorded in the minutes, and took the place assigned him at the board. Later in the careers of Cosby and Mascarene, there seems to have been continued bad feeling between the men. "In 1744," says Judge Savary, "Mascarene was made Lieutenant-Governor of the fort and town, thus uniting in his own person and functions of two offices or commands, the holding of which by different individuals had so often led to difficulties and disputes injurious to the peace and harmony of the people and the garrison, as well as of the public interests. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was supreme in the administration of purely civil affairs, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the fort controlled and directed the military duties. This system had been the means of making enemies of men who otherwise would have been friends, and the heart-burnings and jealousies which had separated Armstrong and Cosby and Mascarene were directly traceable to this dual system of administration." Colonel Cosby married at Annapolis, Anne, born in 1712, daughter of William Winniett, and had among his children a son Philipps Cosby (named for his uncle by marriage Governor Richard Philipps), who, born at Annapolis, probably in 1727, became an admiral in the navy.[27] Colonel Cosby died of small-pox at his house in Annapolis December 27, 1742, and Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Mascarene succeeded to the position he had held, in addition to that of lieutenant-governor of the province, which he had assumed shortly after the death of Armstrong, in March, 1740. A sister of Colonel Cosby's was the wife of Governor Philipps.[28]

Until the spring of 1720 the governors of Nova Scotia administered the affairs of the province without the aid of a council, but in July, 1719, Governor Philipps, probably then in Eng-

27. A sketch of Admiral Cosby will be found in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

28. For the commissions of these governors and lieutenant governors, see "Nova Scotia Archives," Vols. 2 and 3; various encyclopoedias; sketch of Major Mascarene in History of the 40th Regiment; and "Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1911," (2 Vols. Vol. 1, pp. 395-528, 501-507). The last work is compiled by Charles M. Andrews of Yale University, who gives a list with dates of commission of Nova Scotia governors to and including Governor Parr, Andrews' list of governors of the fort and town of Annapolis Royal, is not however, correct.

land, received royal instructions to appoint such "fitting and discreet persons" as he should either find at Annapolis Royal or should take with him for the purpose, not exceeding the number of twelve, to be a council to act with the chief executive or the lieutenants who should serve in his absence in administering the provincial government. Early in April, 1720, Philipps, who had come to Boston the October before, arrived at Annapolis, and there on the 25th of the month he carried out the instructions he had received.[29] On this date, in the house of Captain John Doucett, governor of the fort, he appointed nine men, besides Doucett, to serve as the first council of Nova Scotia, these being Lawrence Armstrong of the 40th regiment; Captain Paul Mascarene of the 40; the Rev. John Harrison, chaplain of the garrison; Captain Cyprian Southack, a notable sea captain of Boston, a man, however, of English birth; Arthur Savage, previously a Boston merchant and then captain of a ship, whom Philipps made secretary of the council; Hibbert Newton, a Bostonian, who had been appointed collector at Annapolis; William Skene, a Scotsman, who was appointed naval officer in 1725, and surgeon of the garrison May 12, 1746; William Shirriff, another Scotsman, who appears at Annapolis as early as 1715, and who in his will, made in 1754, calls himself "Secretary and Commissary of the Musters at His Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royal;" and Peter Boudré, apparently a sea-captain, probably one of the native Acadians of the province. On the 28th of April a second meeting was held at Captain Doucett's, at which

29. In a letter to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, written April 6, 1748, Mr. Mascarene gives a detailed account of the forming of the Council. "Mr. Philipps," Mascarene says, "came over in 1719, Captain General over the province, with instructions to form a Council of the principal of the British inhabitants, and till an Assembly could be formed to regulate himself by the instructions of the Governor of Virginia. Governor Philipps for want of inhabitants formed the Council with the Lieutenant Governor of the garrison, Mr. Doucett, who at the same time was a captain in his regiment and named first in the list of councillors; his major, Lawrence Armstrong; the first captain, Paul Mascarene; Captain Southack, commanding the province schooner; the collector, Hibbert Newton; the chaplain, and other staff officers of the garrison; and Mr. Adams was the only inhabitant admitted. There was another, Mr. Winniett, who was not then named, but in process of time was called to the Board; but afterwards dismissed on some disgust. The whole number was twelve, but as it was made up of transient persons it was soon reduced, and to keep up the number of seven, the commander in chief took in officers of the garrison or regiment, subaltern officers being often judged more capable than their captains."

all these councillors were present, and one other besides. This added member was Mr. John Adams, a Boston merchant, who had taken part in the capture of Annapolis Royal and had settled there probably immediately after, in pursuance of trade. Of the eleven councillors, who thus appear as constituting the first Nova Scotia council, Southack, Savage, Newton, and Adams, it will be seen, were New England men.[30]

On Wednesday, April 19, 1721, it was resolved by the governor and council to hold a general court four times a year for the administration of justice, the council to sit in this judicial capacity on the first Tuesdays of February, May, August, and November, and until the establishment of a settled judiciary at Halifax this was the only civil court of justice Nova Scotia had. In a letter to the Lords of Trade in England in 1740 Major Mascarene says: "There being only two or three English families (here) besides the garrison prevents the formation of a civil government like that in the other colonies, and so the councillors have to be taken chiefly from the military officers of the garrison or regiment." "The Council meets upon call in a civil or judiciary capacity. What relates to the judicial part is referred to quarterly sessions, appointed three or four years ago, in which all matters of *meum* and *tuum* amongst the French inhabitants, who come from all the settlements of the province, are stated and decided. In other affairs, the Council meets when anything of moment requires it, and has a messenger under the name of constable to summon any person required to appear."[31]

How the council sometimes treated offences is illustrated in an account that comes to us of its proceedings on the 6th of August, 1734. At that time the cause of a certain Mary Davis against Jeanne Picot, the wife of Louis Thibauld, was considered. Jeanne had accused Mary of murdering two children, and the

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30. The number of councillors was never as large as twelve, five, however, constituted a quorum. At different times the following were added: August 16, 1720, Gillam Phillips, a brother-in-law of Arthur Savage, another Bostonian, May 13, 1727, Christopher Aldridge, Capt. Joseph Bennett, Capt. John Blower, and Thomas Cosby; at other dates, Henry Cope, Otho Hamilton, William Winniett, Erasmus James Philipps (a relative of the governor), John Handfield, Edward Amhurst, John Slater, and William Howe. These were probably all while the council lasted.

31. This letter in manuscript is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. It was printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. 6, pp. 120-126.

court finding the charge "a vile, malicious, groundless, and scandalous report," ordered that Jeanne should "be ducked on Saturday next, the tenth instant, at high water." Mary was merciful, however, and prayed the court to relieve Jeanne of the ducking and instead oblige her to ask the plaintiff's pardon on Sunday at the mass house door, and her prayer was granted by the court. On the 12th of August of the same year, Matthew Hurry, convicted of stealing a five pound note from Sergeant James Thompson, was sentenced by the council to fifty lashes on the bare back with a cat o' nine tails, and to return the money. In the autumn of 1726, Governor Armstrong's servant man, Nicholas, who had committed an assault on his master while at Canso, was sentenced to sit for half an hour each day during three days on a gallows, with a rope round his neck and a paper on his breast with the words "Audacious Villain" in large capitals printed thereon, and afterwards "to be whipped at the cart's tail from the prison up to the uppermost house of the cape, and from thence back again to the prison house," receiving each hundred paces five stripes upon his bare back with a cat o' nine tails, and then "to be turned over for a soldier."[32]

Concerning the acts of this council until well on towards the time of its dissolution by Governor Cornwallis, twenty-nine years after it was organized, we have full and accurate information in the records of its proceedings, which were published by order of the Nova Scotia Government in 1908.[33] From these minutes of council we gain indeed very intimate knowledge of not only the public affairs of the province at large, but of the social and individual concerns of the people of early Annapolis Royal. In a small, remote community, isolated completely except by slow water communication from all other settled parts of the world, its nearest metropolis, Boston, which could be reached only by uncomfortable voyages in cramped schooners or sloops, the people were necessarily thrown closely together, and as a

32. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 3, p. 127.

33. The third volume of "Nova Scotia Archives," carefully edited and indexed by Professor Archibald M. MacMechan, Ph.D., gives these minutes of council from April, 1720, to August, 1736. The second volume of "Archives," however, also edited (in 1900) by Dr. MacMechan gives us much light on the council's acts until 1741.

consequence, rivalries and jealousies and fierce clashings of petty interests, as well as occasional scandals caused by conspicuous violations of social morality, give strong human colouring to the mixed story of the community's life.

The interests of the Annapolis Royal people, and the complications of the life of their small community, were many and varied. Fishing, farming, lumbering, and the collecting of furs, had long been carried on successfully in the vicinity by the French, and in all these occupations, we may believe, the British settlers likewise to some extent engaged. Of military and civil officials in this garrison town, we must feel there was a great superabundance, but several of the leading men like Adams and Winniett undoubtedly traded vigorously with the French, who were always in Nova Scotia an industrious and in their primitive way enterprising people. Of the three localities in the province where the French population was greatest, the districts of Annapolis Royal, Minas, and Chignecto, Lieutenant Governor Caulfeild in 1715 writes the English Board of Trade, Annapolis, "the metropolis," had rich, sound soil, produced ten thousand bushels of grain, chiefly wheat, and some rye, oats and barley. The district had also plenty of cattle, sheep and hogs; "masting" could be had, though with difficulty, pitch had been frequently made, and since the capture in 1710 forty thousand weight of furs had been shipped each year from the place.[34] In all these commodities the Boston sea-captains and traders who figure prominently in Annapolis no doubt found it profitable to deal with the French, and while most manufactured goods except coarse clothing were brought to the place from Boston, we may conceive the Boston food supplies to have come in no small measure from the remote Nova Scotia town. I have it "from very good hands," writes Caulfeild, in the report from which we have just quoted, that New Englanders themselves take from the Nova Scotia fisheries at large each season over a hundred thousand "kentalls," but besides this, he intimates, great numbers of fish are sold to the merchants trading with Annapolis as their base.

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34. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 24.

Except in the island of Cape Breton, there were during these whole forty years but two British settlements within the confines of what are now the sister provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. These were the settlements of Annapolis Royal and Canso. Of the earliest trading and fishing ventures of New England men along the Nova Scotia shores only scattered facts are possible to be obtained, but Canso we know to have become at an early period, certainly after British rule in the province began, the most important base for New England fisheries that Nova Scotia had. Besides New Englanders and Frenchmen who fished with this point as their base, West of England people also came every spring for purposes of fishing, "with many ships,"[35] and we are told that very large numbers of New England fishing vessels were seen every summer anchored in the strait of Canso at the point where the town lay. The fortifying of Canso began under the influence of Governor Philipps in the year 1720, although troops had been sent to the place to protect it a little earlier than this, but these fortifications seem never to have progressed very far, for in 1734 William Shirreff, secretary of the council, reported that Canso lay "naked and defenceless" against the French, "without so much as barracks to lodge the four companies of Colonel Philipps's regiment stationed there for its defence, or store houses, except hasty slight erections put up from time to time by the commanders, assisted by the fishermen." If the place were taken by the French, Mr. Shirreff says, "the loss would affect not only Nova Scotia but New England, New York, and other plantations; for British subjects resort thither from all parts. As it is the only place in the province that can be said to have been frequented all along by British subjects, its loss would very much affect the traders, and strengthen the French and enable them to do more damage along the coast with their privateers." In 1723 Major Alexander Cosby was in command of the garrison at Canso, and as early as 1732 Captain Christopher Aldridge was "civil and military commandant there." At some period after 1734, however,

35. "Nova Scotia Archives," Vol. 2, p. 56. This statement is made of the year 1719. The great majority of New Englanders went home every fall and came again in the spring.

though the exact date we do not know, Major Paul Mascarene for a time held the same position at Canso.[36]

Intercourse, therefore, between Annapolis Royal and Causo was constant during these forty years; but Boston was the commercial and social metropolis of the Annapolis people.[37] In Boston a great part of the population had been born, to Boston markets the traders regularly shipped the products they bought from the French, and from Boston came all the manufactured goods except the coarsest clothing that the families of those who had brought their families to the place used in their homes. Even the officers of the garrison, we may believe, at intervals varied the monotony of their dull life in this remote place by excursions to Boston for social intercourse with people who lived in a larger world. Consequently there was probably not a week in the year, unless in the depth of winter, that vessels were not clearing from or entering the harbour of the town.

In all the period of nearly four decades that Annapolis Royal was the capital of Nova Scotia, no year was so fraught with fear to the inhabitants as the year 1744. In June of that year, Lieutenant-Governor Mascarene received notice that a declaration of war had been made by France against England,[38] and the garrison which was too weak to resist any considerable force, and the people of the town, who knew that the fort was in a ruinous condition, were alike apprehensive. A little earlier than the beginning of hostilities between the nations, indeed, a sudden panic had seized the people of the lower town, where the families of several officers and soldiers as well as many civilians lived. The cause of this was a rumor that one Morpin, a famous com-

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36. When he died in 1743, Mr. Peter Faneuil, the rich Boston merchant, owned a store at Canso. In the inventory of his property this store is said to be valued at about four hundred pounds.

37. In 1739, however, Murdoch says, there was communication between Annapolis Royal and Canso "scarcely once a year." This, following of course some reliable document, he attributes to the fact that there was no vessel "allowed for the government." Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 1, pp. 528, 529. March 14, 1741, Lieut.-Governor Mascarene writes to the Duke of Newcastle: "We have no news from Europe later than July last, nor from our neighbouring government of New England since last October, so that we are entirely ignorant of any transactions in relation to war or peace." But this statement must mean only that he and the council at Annapolis have had no *official* communication from Boston for many months, not that they have not had any news.

38. The date of this declaration of war was March 15, 1744.

mander of a privateer in the previous war, had gone up the Annapolis river and had gathered a force of French and Indians numbering five hundred men. Although this report could not be traced to any author, says Judge Savary, and its falsehood became evident very soon, yet the effect it produced on the minds of the inhabitants could not be dispelled. In a few days the Massachusetts galley arrived, with the chief engineer, and on her return to Boston she took with her for safety as many of the women and children as she could accommodate. Besides this, more than seventy women and children, as well as the people's effects that could be removed, remained sheltered for a time in the fort.

On the first of July, however, a force of about three hundred Indians, led, it is believed, by the French priest Le Loutre, did come to attack the garrison. But the bravery of Mascarene, who sent word to the besiegers that he was determined to defend the fort to the last drop of his blood, prevented an overwhelming attack, and on the fifth of July the Massachusetts galley again arrived, bringing "seventy auxiliaries and a captain and ensign," and the Indians withdrew and marched eastward to Minas. Still stronger reinforcements soon came from Boston, and until peace was declared in 1748, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, although apprehension in the town never entirely ceased, the fort was not again menaced by Indians or French. In the meantime, however, more of the women and children were taken to Boston.

The appearance of the houses at Annapolis Royal in this first half of the eighteenth century, and the details of their appointments, and the exact modes of life of the people and the character of their social intercourse we can as a rule only conjecture. From private letters of Paul Mascarene to his daughters in Boston, however, we do gain some glimpses of the Annapolis Royal habits of life. "I have begun to keep house," Mascarene writes in 1740, "contrary to the intention of Governor Cosby and other friends, but I thought it of absolute necessity to keep myself the more independent and the more at liberty to keep at home when I found myself inclined to it. My family consists of an old soldier of my company who behaves very well, another

who dresses my dinner, and a boy about eight years of age whom I design to have bound to me.'' The same year he writes his agent in Boston that on the King's accession day he had had Lieutenant-Governor Cosby and the members of the council to dine with him, and all the rest of the officers in the afternoon to celebrate the day in the usual manner by drinking loyal healths.'' ''My appartment,'' he in another letter writes his daughter Margaret,[39] ''contains four Rooms, all contiguous to one another, the first something larger than our fore Room [in Boston], the floor none of the best, is covered with the painted cloth. The White walls are hung in part with four large Pictures of Mr. Smibert —a walnutt chest of Drawers, a mahogany table, and six pretty good chairs fill in some measure the remainder. Over the mantle piece are a dozen of arms kept clean and in good order, with other warlike accoutrements. In this Room I dine, sometimes alone but often with one or more of my friends. A door opens from this into my bed room, where my field bed, four chairs, the little round table, a desk to write upon, and my cloths chest are all the furniture that adorns it. The two closetts on the side of the chimney serve, the one to keep my papers, the other to hang my cloths. In the great room one of the closetts dispos'd on the side of the chimney is made to keep my drinkables for daily use, my case of bottles, and such like. The other is for a kind of pantry and att the same time for a passage to another room wherein I keep my meal, flour, fresh and salt provisions. This communicates by a door to my kitchen and is the way by which I go every morning to order my dinner and give out what provision is necessary for it. The other communication from the kitchen to the great room is by the parade as farr as from our back kitchen to our back entry door. I have a bell to call my servant both from my dining and bed room. My Domesticks are a good old honest soldyer who makes my bed, keeps my cloths and my apartment clean and attends me very diligently and very faithfully, another who was my cook when your [sister] Betty was here attends me in the same office, they have a boy to assist them both. All three discharge their tasks in an easy and quiet

39. The exact date of this letter is probably December 1st, the year is 1740.

manner and give little or no trouble. The morning, and especially in winter time I generally pass att home in usefull and diverting employments. I sometimes dine abroad. The afternoons I visit some of the familys in our fort or town, and the evenings Capn. Handfield, Lt. Amhurst, and three or four more of our officers meet att one another's houses over a game att ombre for half pence and part att nine, when after an hour enjoy'd quietly in my own room I go to bed. These rounds I have gone for these months."

Others of Colonel Mascarene's letters, to his family and his agent Douglas, in Boston, give us little side lights on the society of Annapolis Royal. July 20, 1740, for instance, he writes Douglas that Mr. Winniett is to carry two of Lieutenant-Governor Cosby's daughters to board at his own home in Boston, Cosby having insisted on a promise Mascarene had made him that they might do so, which "I own," he says, "I should not have been sorry to have found an opening to withdraw from at this time, as I do not know how long matters may remain quiet between us." These young ladies were probably being taken to Massachusetts, as no doubt other Annapolis children from time to time were, for the benefit of the Boston schools. In December, of the same year Mascarene writes his daughter Betty that Annapolis has been visited by an epidemic of colds for two months past, the ladies of the community especially falling victims to the trouble. He himself, however, he says is in excellent health. In an earlier letter he writes one of his daughters: "Mrs. Cosby has also expressed a great satisfaction in what you have done for her. The stays fits each of the children very well." "As for Mrs. Handfield," he writes suggestively, "the captain has rendered her incapable of wearing hers for these twelve months to come."

The church where the Annapolis people worshipped for much of the period under review was "a large and commodious" building inside the fort, erected by the last French Governor, Monsieur Subercase, a building eighty feet long and thirty-three feet wide, half of which was intended by Subercase to be used as a chapel, the remainder to furnish lodgings for certain officials of the fort. When the fort was finally invested by English

troops, services according to the Church of England were at once begun in this French chapel by the Rev. John Harrison, "chaplain to Commodore Martin, and left chaplain to the garrison by commission from the general." The first service in the chapel after the capture was held on Tuesday, the tenth of October, 1710, to commemorate the great event, the day having been set apart for special thanksgiving. On this occasion prayers were said by Mr. Harrison, but the sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Hesker, "chaplain to the Hon. Col. Reading's Marines."[40] The building now occupied for Protestant services, Mr. Harrison himself describes as a handsome chapel, which under pressure of necessity had been turned into barracks during the siege.

The exact length of Mr. Harrison's chaplaincy we do not know, but this clergyman seems to have been succeeded in active service in the fort and town by the Rev. Robert Cuthbert as early at least as 1722. Why he retired we do not know, for he seems still to have been residing at Annapolis in November, 1732. In this year, probably, Rev. Richard Watts became chaplain, but after 1737 until Halifax was founded, Watts evidently, though nominally chaplain, remained away from his duty, and in 1742 Mr. John Adams, as we shall see, wrote the Lords of Trade that in the absence of the chaplain "officers and soldiers" were profaning "the holy sacraments of baptism and ministerial function by presuming to baptize their own children." "There has been no chaplain here, he says for these four years."

As an illustration of the scandals which are sure occasionally to arise in small communities in the course of years, we hear of one unfortunate occurrence in this little garrison town in 1724. The earliest notice we have found of the Rev. Robert Cuthbert is in the records of King's Chapel, Boston, where we find him preaching November 4, 1722. In that year he was already chaplain at Annapolis, but just when he had been settled there we

40. This was the beginning of regular services according to the ritual of the Church of England in the whole of what is now the Dominion of Canada. See the "Journal of Col. Francis Nicholson"; the writer's "Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution"; Judge Savary's valuable pamphlet entitled "French and Anglican Churches at Annapolis Royal" (Annapolis Royal, 1910); the Calnek-Savary "History of Annapolis"; and Rev. Canon C. W. Vernon's "Bicentenary Sketches and Early Days of the Church in Nova Scotia" (Halifax, 1910).

do not know. Less than two years later he was accused by a certain Alexander Douglass, of Annapolis, of too great intimacy with Douglass's wife, and the charge was taken up by the council. On the 22nd of September, 1724, the Board unanimously agreed that "Whereas it appears that the Rev. Mr. Robert Cuthbert hath obstinately persisted in keeping company with Margaret Douglass contrary to all reproofs and admonitions from Alexander Douglass her husband and contrary to his own promises and the good advice of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, that he the said Mr. Robert Cuthbert shall be kept in the Garrison without port liberty, and that his scandalous affair and the satisfaction demanded by the injured husband be transmitted in order to be determined at home; and that the Honourable Lieutenant Governor may write for another minister in his room."

Up to 1728, however, Cuthbert was still ministering in the town, but in that year he was suspended from the exercise of his ministerial functions and no doubt left. In May, 1725, Margaret Douglas, whose husband, probably a sea-captain, had gone away, petitioned the board that her husband's brother Samuel might be compelled to pay her the allowance her husband had ordered him to pay for that she and her child were destitute. When Samuel Douglas came before the board he declared that he had no property of his brother's in his hands, but that, instead, his brother owed him nearly five pounds.

An important event in the history of Annapolis early in the period under review was the organizing there of the Fortieth regiment of foot under Governor Philipps, on the 25th of August, 1717. At this time there were four independent companies of foot in the garrison, left from the force that came from Boston in 1710 for the capture, and there existed also four other companies at Placentia, in Newfoundland.[41] Under royal instructions, Philipps, who was commissioned colonel of the regiment, though he had not yet come to Nova Scotia, now welded these eight companies into a regiment of the line, and henceforth

41. The garrison that was left at Annapolis immediately after the capture is said to have consisted of "two hundred marines and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers."

until 1749, the troops that garrisoned both Annapolis Royal and Canso, as well as Placentia, belonging to this regiment. The first officers commissioned in the regiment were all except Captain Paul Mascarene British born men, and Mascarene, although born in France and educated in Switzerland, had before coming to New England been naturalized in England and had received there a commission in the British army. Later the regiment naturally drew within its ranks a number of the sons of military or civil officials resident at Annapolis, where some of these young officers took wives from among the Annapolis girls. In 1739 nine out of the ten companies that the Fortieth then comprised were stationed in Nova Scotia, the tenth being at Placentia. Of the nine companies in Nova Scotia, comprising in all about a hundred and fifty-five private soldiers, besides the officers, five were stationed at Annapolis Royal, four at Canso.[42]

For much of the long period of its history as a British fort, the fort of Annapolis was in a dilapidated condition and the garrison, neglected by the absent colonel of the 40th and governor in chief of the province, was in a pitiful state. The next year after the capture, Vetch sent Lawrence Armstrong to England to try to induce the Lords of Trade to give him aid in repairing and strengthening the place, which had been left in sad condition by the French. The fortifications he describes as "in form a regular square, with four bastions made up of earth and sodwork; the earth a loose gravel or sand, subject to damage by every thaw, and to great breaches which happened by the fall of the walls into the ditch till a method was found to revest the works with timber from the bottom of the ditch to the friezes,

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42. We learn about the regiment in 1739 from a letter of Governor Philipps to the Duke of Newcastle in this year. For a detailed history of the 40th, see "History of the Fortieth (2nd Somersetshire Regiment), now 1st Battalion the Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment), from its foundation in 1717 to 1893. By Captain R. H. Raymond Smythies." 600 pages, printed at Devonport, England, in 1894. The officers at its formation were: Colonel, Richard Philipps; Major, Alexander Cosby; Captains, John Caulfield, Lawrence Armstrong, Paul Mascarene, Christopher Aldridge, John Williams; Lieutenants, James Campbell, John Jephson, Edward Bradstreet; Ensigns, James Erskine, John Keeting. In 1739 the French garrison at Louisburg consisted of six companies of regular troops, of 60 men each, and a company of Swiss of 120 men. There was another company of French soldiers at St. Peter's, four leagues from Canso, and still another in the Island of St. John (P. E. I.). Canso, where there was a small British force, was without proper barracks or storehouses for the troops.

eighteen feet, and above that with four feet of sod, the greatest part of which being done while General Nicholson was last here." The houses and barracks where the officers and soldiers lodged, with the storehouses and magazines, he describes as "in a ruinous condition, and not like to stand three years without thorough repair." Arriving in England, Armstrong told the Board that the garrison was dependent on New England for supplies and that the Boston merchants who furnished these demanded exorbitant prices. He therefore advised the settlement at and about the town of Annapolis of a sufficient number of British people to produce the things the garrison and the town most needed, and suggested that Annapolis be made a free port. The natural resources of the province of which Annapolis was the capital he urged as being very great.

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, September 5, 1739, Governor Philipps describes the fort as built of earth, with four bastions, faced with picquets to keep it together, and surrounded with a small, shallow dry ditch, about six feet deep." The channel in Annapolis Basin, he says, is of sufficient depth to allow men-of-war of from twenty to fifty guns to come within a cable's length of the fort. In 1743, Mascarene writes the Duke of Newcastle that the fort "is apt to tumble down in heavy rains or in thaws after frosty weather, as it is formed of earth of a sandy and pliable nature. To prevent this a revestment of timber had been made use of, which soon decaying remedies the evil but for a short time, so that for these many years past there has been only a continual patching."

In 1721, Mascarene describes the appearance of Annapolis Royal as follows: "Two leagues above Goat Island [in the Basin of Annapolis] is the fort, seated on a sandy, rising ground on the south side of the river, on a point formed by the British River and another small one called the Jenny River. The lower town lies along the first, and is commanded by the fort. The upper town stretches in scattering houses a mile and a half southeast from the fort on the rising ground between the two rivers. From this rising ground to the banks of each river, and on the other side of the less one, lie large flats or meadows, etc. On both sides of the British River are a great many fine farms,

inhabited by about two hundred families." In 1743, he writes: The town "consists of two streets, the one extending along the river side and the other along the neck of land, the extremities whereof are of a quarter of a mile distant from the fort."

Concerning the history of many of the families of Annapolis Royal during the forty years under consideration we are not very well informed. In the following brief sketches, however, some important facts concerning the heads and other members of a few of them, and especially concerning the families' interrelationships, will be found. If records of their ministerial acts were ever kept by the garrison chaplains we do not know where they are, consequently of the dates of many baptisms and marriages performed during the period we are and probably always shall be entirely ignorant.

John Adams, born in 1673, who in 1710 went from Boston in Sir Charles Hobby's regiment to the capture of Annapolis Royal, is one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of Annapolis during a large part of this period of forty years.[43] Adams was the eldest of three brothers who were probably sons of a John Adams, of Boston, who in 1690 and later had a wife Avis,

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43. John Adams of Boston, cordwainer, whose wife in 1690 was Avis, receives a deed from Nathaniel Williams, executor of the will of John Morse of Boston, Dec. 20, 1688. John and Avis sell the property thus deeded Jan. 19, 1690, to Abraham Blish. According to the Old South Church register a John and Avis Adams have children baptized as follows: William, Feb. 12, 1692-3; John, Nov. 5, 1693-4; Ebenezer, Dec. 23, 1693-4. Less than three years after he graduated from college, Rev. Hugh Adams is said to have written his "dearly beloved brother John Adams, shop-keeper, Boston," from Charleston, S. C., announcing the death, on the 23rd of Feb., 1699-1700, we suppose at Charleston, of "our godly mother Avis Adams." In some other writing, possibly a diary, perhaps a letter, the date of which we do not know, Rev. Hugh Adams mentions with solicitude his "eldest brother John's" having gone to Annapolis Royal with a company in Sir Charles Hobby's regiment. If John Adams was the eldest of these three Adams brothers he must have been born as early as 1672-1674, and we can hardly believe that the mother of these men was still bearing children as late as 1692-93. Avis Adams may therefore have been not the own mother, but the stepmother of John, Matthew, and Hugh although Hugh calls her their mother. For important mentions of this Adams family, which was quite distinct from the Adams family of Braintree, see the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 10, pp. 89-91, and Vol. 32, pp. 132, 133. In the latter notice, however, the list of John Adams's children is not correctly given.

Of Rev. John Adams, son of John Adams, the Councillor, excellent notices will be found in Duyckink's "Cyclopoedia of American Literature," and the "National Encyclopoedia of American Biography." This young clergyman, the first poet reared in Nova Scotia, is said to have been besides a poet, an eloquent preacher, a master of nine languages, and a generally brilliant man. He died unmarried at Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 22, 1740, at the early age of thirty-six.

but of whose origin and history we at present know absolutely nothing. The younger brothers of John were Matthew, a merchant of Boston and a lover and collector of books, and Rev. Hugh, a Congregational minister, born in 1676, who was long pastor of the church at Oyster River, now Durham, New Hampshire, his college education having been obtained at Harvard, where he graduated in 1697.

From some letter or diary of his brother Hugh we learn that John Adams went in a company in Sir Charles Hobby's regiment to the capture of Port Royal in 1710, and in Annapolis Adams must have established himself as a trader with Boston very soon after the capture was effected. In the town, as a person of importance, Governor Philipps found him in 1720, and when Philipps organized the council, he soon appointed him one of this board. On the 28th of April, 1720, Adams took his seat on the council, and henceforth until 1740 there was no more active member of the Nova Scotia government than he. In 1725 he was appointed Deputy Collector of the port, and when Col. Lawrence Armstrong, lieutenant-governor of the province, committed suicide, December 5, 1739, Mr. Adams as senior councillor in residence assumed charge of the government. The actual senior member of the council, however, was Mr. Paul Mascarene, who had been appointed councillor three days earlier than Adams, and the following March, when Mascarene returned from Boston, where he had been spending the winter, he relieved Mr. Adams of the charge. In a short time, it is said, blindness compelled Adams to relinquish his duties at Annapolis and he then returned to Boston, where we hear little more of him. In the records of council we find intimations that he was not very well off, and in 1732, though he could not then have been much over fifty-nine, we find that he was infirm and was considered old. In 1742, in Boston, it is said he gave his wife Hannah power of attorney over his affairs.

Who or when John Adams married in Boston we are not able to say, nor do we know whether he had one wife or two. Concerning the full number of his children we are likewise ignorant, but the following children, baptized in the Old South parish, Boston, we know to have been his. By the register of this

church we find that John and his wife Hannah Adams had children: Hannah, baptized September 17, 1699; Anne, December 21, 1701; and John, March 26, 1704. Of these children Hannah became at Annapolis the wife of Hibbert Newton, Anne, we have reason to believe became the wife of Dr. John Skene, and John, who graduated at Harvard in 1721, became a Congregational clergyman (and a poet of some note) and was settled at Newport, Rhode Island and in Philadelphia. A third daughter of John Adams, whose name, however, we do not know, undoubtedly became at Annapolis the wife of Major Otho Hamilton, for the wife of Major Hamilton, we learn from this gentleman's will, was a sister of Mrs. Anne Skene.

On the 12th of March, 1742, John Adams writes from Boston to the English Lords of Trade: "I would have returned to Annapolis before now, but there was no chaplain in the garrison to administer God's word and sacraments to the people; but the officers and soldiers in the garrison have profaned the holy sacraments of baptism and ministerial function by presuming to baptize their own children. Why His Majesty's chaplain does not come to his duty I know not, but I am persuaded it is a disservice and dishonor to our religion and nation; and as I have heard, some have got their children baptized by the Popish priests, for there has been no chaplain here for these four years."[44]

Major Christopher Aldridge was undoubtedly of British birth, his various commissions in the army being as follows: Lieutenant, April 6, 1706, Captain, August 24, 1711, and Captain in the 40th, August 25, 1717. Some time before 1735, he was made "civil and military commandant at Canso," in which command says the history of Annapolis, he was superseded by Major Mascarene. May 13, 1727, Captain Aldridge, together with Captain Joseph Bennett, Captain John Blower, and Thomas Cosby, Esq., "the commissary of provisions and fort major," was admitted to the council, but precisely how long he remained in Nova Scotia we do not at present know. February 11, 1745, then "Major Aldridge," he made his will in Boston, where he

44. Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," Vol. 2, p. 17, and Eaton's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia," pp. 21, 22.

was residing, and April 1, 1746, the will was proved. The chief persons mentioned in the will are his son, Christopher, his daughter Mary Bradstreet, his daughter Elizabeth Jepson, and his daughter Martha Newgent.

Lieutenant Edward Amhurst's name appears first in the council minutes in July, 1733. Amhurst (or Amherst) we suppose was an Englishman, but of his origin we know nothing. He was commissioned ensign of the 40th regiment either March 12 or May 13, 1722, lieutenant April 3, 1733, and captain-lieutenant July 25, 1748. For several years, until at least 1739, he was deputy surveyor at Annapolis, and in 1740 he and John Handfield were executors of Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Armstrong's will. In 1749 he was in England, and when the Cornwallis fleet sailed for Chebucto he came with it. Later, Dr. Akins says, he became a major and commanded the troops at Placentia, in Newfoundland. He had a family, for a great-grandson of his was the Hon. Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart., lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia in the year 1867.

An important person at Annapolis Royal during the period under review was Major (afterward Lieutenant-Colonel) Otho Hamilton of the Fortieth Regiment, and from 1731 unitl probably 1744, a member of the council. Major Hamilton was probably one of the young recruits who came out from England with or soon after Nicholson and Vetch, for the reduction of Port Royal, his ensign's commission bearing date June 16, 1710. In 1714 he was ensign in Captain J. Williams's independent company at Annapolis Royal, and when this company was incorporated into the Fortieth he of course became an officer of that now famous regiment. On the 9th of August, 1718, he was made lieutenant of the 40th, July 8, 1734, captain-lieutenant, September 3, 1739, captain, and January 30, 1746, major. In 1744, Henry Cope, Lieutenant-Governor of the town and garrison of Placentia, in Newfoundland, died, and by a proclamation dated at St. James's December 25th of that year Captain Hamilton was appointed in his place. In 1761 Hamilton resigned from the 40th, but he must have been made almost immediately a lieutenant-colonel in the army. On the 26th of February, 1770, still as Lieutenant-Governor of Placentia, he died at Waterford, Ire-

land, where he seems to have established a home. Colonel Hamilton married at Annapolis Royal a sister of Anne, wife of Dr. William Skene, who it seems certain was a daughter of Mr. John Adams. The first name of Mrs. Hamilton we do not know, and we are also uncertain when and where she died. The children she bore her husband were three, John Hamilton, who was for some time an officer of the 40th, but who resigned from the army in 1766 and went to live at Waterford; Otho, Jr., who entered the 40th as ensign in 1744, and in 1770 became lieutenant-colonel of the 59th, and who died in England in 1811; and a daughter Grizel, who became the wife of Colonel Richard Dawson of the Engineers, an officer who in 1780 was governor of the Isle of Man. Otho Hamilton, Sr., of Annapolis Royal, was the youngest son of Colonel Thomas Hamilton of Edinburgh, of the Olivestob Hamiltons, and his wife Grizel (Hamilton), and was born in Edinburgh about 1690. He died, at Waterford, Ireland, we suppose, some time in the year 1770.[45]

Lieutenant-Colonel John Handfield was probably, like Hamilton, Shirreff, and Skene, a Scotsman, but precisely how early he came to Annapolis Royal we do not know. He was commissioned ensign in the 40th regiment February 26, 1720, lieutenant April 12, 1731, captain March 22, 1740, major October 15, 1754, and lieutenant-colonel March 18, 1758. He died at Waterford, Ireland, a brevet colonel it is said, in 1788. In 1755, when the Acadians were expelled he was in command of the fort at Annapolis, and obeying orders he assisted in removing these unhappy people from the town and the country about. In 1759 he was still in service, probably at the same place.

Colonel Handfield's wife was Elizabeth Winniett, a sister of Mrs. Alexander Cosby and Mrs. Edward How. At what time

45. For a pretty full account of Lieutenant Colonel Otho Hamilton and his family see a monograph by this writer published at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1899. The title of this is "Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton of Olivestob, His Sons, Capt. John and Lt.-Col. Otho Hamilton, 2nd, and his Grandson Sir Ralph Hamilton, Kt. Judge Curwen of Salem when he was in England at the time of the American Revolution speaks (see "Journal and Letters," p. 247) of meeting at Liverpool, Mrs. Grizel Dawson, a native of Nova Scotia, whose husband was then governor of the Isle of Man. In Vol. 9, "Nova Scotia Record Commission," under date of August 15, 1726, we find an interesting letter from Otho Hamilton to Major Mascarene at Boston, sent as the writer says by Mrs. Hamilton, his wife. The letter treats of the garrison stores, of Mascarene's man "Will," etc., etc. Judge Curwen's meeting with Mrs. Dawson was on June 12, 1780.

he married we do not know, but in 1731 he petitioned the council for a formal grant of a garden plot behind the house that he had built at a considerable charge, for the convenience of his family. Of, we believe, his sons, William Handfield was commissioned ensign of the 40th, December 1, 1745, lieutenant September 1, 1749, and adjutant July 4, 1758; John Handfield, Jr., 1st lieutenant of the 40th, July 1, 1755; George Handfield, ensign of the 40th September 13, 1760, and lieutenant April 8, 1762. His daughter Mary was married at Annapolis August 15, 1752, to Lieutenant John Hamilton (elder son of Col. Otho Hamilton), who is said to have been then a young widower. In the absence of a chaplain to the garrison Captain Handfield himself performed the marriage.[46]

The first Protestant chaplain settled at Annapolis Royal was the Rev. John Harrison, we presume a native of England. In the journal of General Nicholson we find the following entry: "Tuesday the 10th [October, 1710], was solemnized a day of Thanksgiving for the success of Her Majesty's Arms in reducing Port Royal, etc., being so appointed by the General. After Divine Service which was performed in the Chapel by the Reverend Mr. John Harrison, Chaplain to Commodore Martin (and now left Chaplain to the Garrison by commission from the General, a sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Hesker, Chaplain to the Hon. Col. Reading's Marines." Later General Nicholson records that he was pleased to "commissionate," before he left Boston for Port Royal, among other officers, "John Harrison, Clerk, Chaplain to the Garrison of Annapolis Royal." In 1720, as we have seen, Governor Philipps chose Mr. Harrison one of the first members of the new council he appointed.[47]

Captain Edward How, possibly one of the Hows of Sudbury, Massachusetts, appears either at Annapolis Royal or at Canso

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46. Of British officers serving in America after the middle of the 18th century there was a John Handfield who was Lieut. of the 43d March 7, 1762, and Lieut.-Capt. of the 65th Oct. 18, 1762; a Thomas Handfield who was ensign of the 47th May 23, 1759; and an Edward Handfield, ensign of the 22d Dec. 2, 1759, and Lieut. of the 22nd April 2, 1762. A William Handfield, also, was Captain of the 94th May 5, 1762.

47. See the writer's "The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution," pp. 16-18.

as early as 1714. He was a sea-captain and trader, and for a long time his headquarters was at Canso, where he served as a justice of the peace. It would seem that he had an important part in supplying the garrisons at Annapolis Royal and Canso with goods from Boston. Somewhere about 1720 he married at Annapolis Mary Magdalen Winniett, daughter of William Winniett the merchant and ship-owner there, and in 1736 became a member of the council. In this body his importance was so great that when Cornwallis came in 1749 this governor made him the second member of the council he created on board the *Beaufort* in Halifax harbour. At the battle of Grand Pré in 1747, in which Colonel Arthur Noble and his brother Major James Noble lost their lives by the French, How was present as commissary to the small body of troops at Minas and was wounded. Less than three years later, in October, 1750, at the instigation of the priest Le Loutre he was "treacherously and barbarously" murdered near Beaubassin, leaving a widow and a large family of children, the youngest of whom was but a few months old. In 1759 Mrs. How, who was very poor, petitioned the lords of trade in England for a grant of eleven hundred and eighty pounds, eighteen shillings, and sixpence, which she claimed was due her husband from the government of Nova Scotia at his death. Her claim was considered by the council at Halifax and she was awarded the sum of nine hundred and forty-eight pounds, and sixpence, which sum the council charged to the contingent account of the settlement. On the 23d of November, 1763, Mrs. How petitioned for the balance of her claim, but she never received any more. Of Captain How himself, Murdoch says: "The esteem he won while living, the general usefulness of his conduct as an early founder of our colony, and the cruel circumstances of his death, commend his memory to us who enjoy a happy, peaceful, and prosperous home [in the colony]."

Of Captain How's sons, William, who was probably the eldest, settled in Cumberland county, Nova Scotia, Edward probably died at Annapolis Royal, one son became an officer in the Royal Fusiliers, Joseph entered the navy, and Alexander, who became a member of the Nova Scotia assembly, married Margaret Green, a granddaughter of Hon. Benjamin Green. Of his daughters,

Deborah was married to Captain Samuel Cottnam of the 40th regiment, and one, whose name we do not know became, we believe, the first wife of Col. Winckworth Tonge.

The first collector of the port of Annapolis was HIBBERT NEWTON, who was made by Philipps one of the first members of the council he formed. Mr. Newton was the only son of Judge Thomas Newton, of Boston, a highly important member of the early Massachusetts bar, and one of the founders and prominent supporters of King's Chapel. How long Hibbert Newton remained a member of the Nova Scotia council we do not know, but his collectorship of the port, and we believe of Canso as well, lasted, in the former case until his death in 1751, and in the latter probably until the settlement of Canso was destroyed by Du Vivier in 1744. In July, 1725, Mr. Newton went to Canso apparently to reside for some time and Mr. John Adams was made deputy collector at Annapolis, but how long he remained at Canso we do not know. After this period do not again find him sitting on the council board.

Mr. Newton married at Annapolis Hannah Adams, a daughter of John Adams, she being baptized in the Old South parish, Boston, September 17, 1699. At the founding of Halifax the chief collectorship of the province was transferred to that place and Mr. Newton probably but not certainly removed there. At his death his son Henry was made collector in his place, and the son also filled this office until his death. Conspicuous tablets to members of the Newton family will be found on the walls of King's Chapel, Boston, and St. Paul's Church, Halifax. Hibbert Newton had several sons,[48] one of whom, Hibbert, was commissioned ensign in the 40th Regiment, May 12, 1746, another, Phillips, ensign in the 40th, April 29, 1750.

ARTHUR SAVAGE, who before 1710, was a merchant doing business on Long Wharf and dealing in West Indian products, must have so ingratiated himself with Governor Philipps during the latter's stay in Boston from October, 1919, to April, 1720, that Philipps decided to take him to Annapolis and make him secre-

48. For an important sketch of Hibbert Newton and of this Newton family generally, see the writer's sketch of Hibbert Newton in the "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," Vol. 68 (Jan., 1914), pp. 101-103. Henry Newton died in 1802.

tary of the council he was to form on his arrival there. In May, 1714, he was captain of the Massachusetts Province galley "sailing to foreign ports," and it is quite possible that in this vessel he took Philipps to his new post. At any rate, he must have accompanied the governor, for immediately after Philipps came to Annapolis he was appointed by him both naval officer and secretary of the province. On the 6th of May he was admitted to the council, but in 1725 he was again living at Boston. Whether the fact that Savage's wife's maiden name was Phillipps (not Philipps), and that Governor Philipps may have been intimate with members of the Phillips family in Boston, had anything to do with the governor's interest in Savage we do not know. Savage married June 1, 1710, Faith Phillips, of Boston, his cousin once removed, whose brother Gillam Phillips was admitted to the council in August, 1720, but seems never afterwards to have taken his place at the council board. Arthur Savage died at his house in Brattle Square, Boston, after a tedious illness, April 20, 1735.[49]

William Shirreff, probably born in Scotland, appears first in the "Governor's Letter-Book" in 1715, and last in the "Commission Book" in 1739. Shirreff was introduced into the council in 1720, and of this body was still one of the most active and influential members as late at least as 1740. For a good deal of this time he acted as secretary of the board. His son probably, named also William, was commissioned lieutenant of the 47th regiment June 25, 1755, adjutant of this regiment September 25, 1759, and captain-lieutenant February 15, 1761. Of his family, other than this son, we know nothing except from his will, which was proved in Boston May 24, 1768 (made January 12, 1754). By this instrument we see that his wife's name was Elizabeth, and that he had children, one of whom, possibly, was Charles Shirreff, who was, with John Hamilton and Alexander Hay of Annapolis Royal, a witness of the will. The testament begins, "I William Shirreff Sec^y and Comm^y of the Musters at His Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royal in the Province of Nova Scotia, North America," etc.,

49. See the Savage Family Genealogy, compiled by Lawrence Park, Esq., in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. 67. For Arthur Savage, pp. 213-215.

etc. His death, at the age of eighty-three, is announced in the *Boston Evening Post*. In this notice he is called "formerly an officer in the Nova Scotia Government," and is said to have died in Boston May 5, 1768.

Dr. William Skene we believe to have been born in Scotland and to have come to Annapolis Royal probably at the same time as Major Otho Hamilton. He was appointed to the council April 25, 1720, was made naval officer July 22, 1725, and is mentioned as sitting in council as late at least as August 17, 1736. On the 15th of September, 1758, administration on his estate, he having owned property in Massachusetts and having lately died intestate, was granted to the Rev. Nathaniel Walter, of Roxbury. In this order of the Massachusetts Probate Court Dr. Skene is called "late a surgeon in his Majesty's Garrison at Annapolis Royal," and such we know him to have been. His appointment to this post bears date May 12, 1746, and he perhaps discharged its duties until 1757, for February 7th, of that year Dr. William Catherwood was appointed surgeon to the garrison in his place.

The wife of Dr. Skene was with little doubt Anne Adams, a daughter of Mr. John Adams, of the Annapolis Council. After her husband's death Mrs. Skene seems to have resided at the house of the Rev. Nathaniel Walter in Roxbury,[50] the reason for this, as for Mr. Walter's having administered on her husband's estate, we can only conjecture. On the 16th of June, 1758, warrant was given the selectmen of Roxbury to inquire into Mrs. Skene's mental condition, and this body after seeing the "gentlewoman" at the house of Mr. Walter reported that they had found her of sound mind. Their report to this effect, in which they speak of her as not really belonging to Roxbury but only residing there, bears date July 7, 1758. On the 23d of May, 1772, administration on Mrs. Skene's small estate was granted in Massachusetts to John Newton, of Halifax (no doubt her nephew),

50. A temporary New England resident in Nova Scotia, probably at Annapolis Royal, at a very early time, was the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, founder in the second generation from England of the well-known Walter family of Boston and Roxbury and father of Rev. Nathaniel Walter. Nehemiah Walter, who was born in Ireland December, 1663, graduated at Harvard in 1684, and shortly after went to Nova Scotia to study French. In a few months he returned to Boston having attained so much proficiency in the language as to be able to preach in it in the absence of their minister to a congregation of French refugees in Boston. See "N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register," Vol. 8, p. 209.

Joshua Green and Joseph Barrell, of Boston, becoming bound with him for the proper discharge of the trust. In the will of Lieutenant Colonel Otho Hamilton, made at Waterford, Ireland, August 23, 1768, the testator leaves ten pounds sterling annually to his wife's sister, Mrs. Anne Skene, a pension she was receiving not being, Col. Hamilton says, enough for her support.[51]

One of the first members of the council appointed by General Philipps in 1720 was CAPTAIN CYPRIAN SOUTHACK, who though born in England spent most of his life on the American continent. Captain Southack was a son of Lieutenant Cyprian Southack, R. N., and his wife Elizabeth Oakley and was born in London, March 25, 1662. On the 16th of July, 1689, he was granted by the admiralty letters of marque against the French, and on the 29th of April, 1690, in command of the *Porcupine* of sixteen guns, with a hundred and seventeen men he sailed from Boston with Sir William Phips on his expedition against Port Royal. After the capture of the place Phips sent him along the coast to complete the work of conquest and he is said to have been the first Englishman who ever sailed through the strait of Canso. In August he returned to Boston, and in 1692 we find him in command of the brigantine *William and Mary,* which was commissioned as a guard ship in the Massachusetts service "to sweep the French from the seas." A little later we find him with Captain Short of H. M. ship *Nonsuch,* and from 1696 to 1713 he was captain of the Massachusetts Province galley. In 1710 he was with Nicholson at the final capture of Port Royal, and in 1714 was sent by Governor Dudley and Nicholson as commissioner to Quebec for the exchange of prisoners of war. Two years later we find him controlling a fishing station at Port Roseway, Nova Scotia, and in 1720 we see him appointed a member of the council at Annapolis. From July 1, 1721, to August 17, 1723, he commanded H. M. Schooner *William Augustus,* which was built in Boston to serve as the "Government Sloop" of Nova Scotia. In 1723 he returned to Boston and settled finally in the mansion

51. In 1741, the five members of the council at Annapolis appointed to meet with similar bodies from the New England governments to settle the boundaries between Massachusetts and Rhode Island were Messrs. Henry Cope, Otho Hamilton, Erasmus J. Philipps, Shirreff, and Skene.

house he had built in Southack Street, now Howard Street, facing the present Scollay square. On the 27th of March, 1745, he died, his remains being deposited in tomb No. 46 in the Granary Burying Ground, the slate stone laid on the top of which was elaborately carved with his arms.

In 1718 Southack was sent as a commissioner to the governor of Cape Breton to treat concerning the settlement of the long disputed boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, in 1720 he published a chart he had made of the New England coast, and in 1734 he published a second edition of this chart. Between 1702 and 1739 he frequently served as vestryman of King's Chapel, and in 1711-12 he was a warden of this church. Some time before 1735 he gave a clock to Christ Church, this being cleaned, repaired and set up in the tower by Gawen Brown in 1749-50. He married in Boston, February 19, 1690, Elizabeth Foy, daughter of Captain John and Dorothy Foy, who bore him eleven children. Mrs. Southack died in Boston April 5, 1741.

William Winniett, whom Governor Philipps calls "the most considerable merchant and one of the first British inhabitants" of Annapolis, and whom he describes as "eminent in his zeal" for the royal cause, was an officer in the force which took Annapolis in 1710. In 1710 or 1711, Mr. Winniett, who was a Huguenot Frenchman, married at Annapolis Magdelaine Maissonat, one of the native Acadians, and at once settled in the town as a merchant.[52] In the records of the council we find many mentions of him, which show his importance in the community, and reveal his activity in the general community life. One of his daughters, as we have seen, became the wife of Major Alexander Cosby, lieutenant governor of the town, one the wife of Lieutenant Colonel John Handfield of the 40th regiment, who was for a good while highly active in the fort, and one the wife of Captain Edward How. Mr. Winniett was admitted to the council on the 21st of November, 1729, but his connexion with that body was not a smooth one, for in 1734, the lieutenant-governor of the province, Hon. Lawrence Armstrong, "informed the board that he had summoned William Winniett, Esq., as usual to attend the

52. The Rev. John Harrison performed this marriage, but on precisely what date we do not know.

council and that as he had frequently refused to attend by sending frivolous excuses, as appears by the minutes of council, and had on several occasions behaved himself disrespectfully, that therefore, and other reasons, which he would lay before his Majesty, he did suspend him the said William Winniett, Esq., from being a member of this board till his Majesty's pleasure be thereon further known." Long before he became a member of the council, indeed, Mr. Winniett had so displeased this body that he had been arrested by its orders and had been confined for some days in his own house. On receiving from him, however, shortly after a letter of submission, the council "out of their tenderness," forgave him, and he was released. Winniett had evidently a strong personality and we have only to glance at the record of his activities which the printed Archives of Nova Scotia contain to see how important the part was that he played in the life of the community where he lived. Bad feeling between him and Mr. Armstrong began as early as 1715, for in November of that year Major Caulfeild, the second lieutenant governor of the fort and town, incloses a letter and memorial of Winniett's to the lords of trade in England, with one of his own, in which he says that Winniett has been of very great service to the garrison at Annapolis and that his behaviour did not in the least deserve such treatment from Captain Armstrong as it had received. Mr. Winniett died at Annapolis early in 1742.[53]

The most distinguished native of Annapolis Royal living in the nineteenth century was the Hon. Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart., known from his distinguished services in the Crimean war as the "hero of Kars." Sir Fenwick was born at Annapolis in December, 1799, or 1800. His grandfather, Thomas Williams, was commissary and ordnance storekeeper at Annapolis and his grandmother, Ann, only daughter of Captain Edward Amhurst of the 40th regiment. For a short time in 1867

53. The population of Annapolis Royal and vicinity in 1714, according to the census of that year was 895, but in 1731 the town and its environs and the garrison numbered 6,000. Of these inhabitants a great many must have been New Englanders. Such probably were people bearing the names Bennett, Bissell, Blower, Daniel, Donnelly, Douglas, Hart, Harwood, Henderson, Henshaw, James, Jennings, Partridge, and many others. A large number of the 6,000 settlers in and near the town, however, were undoubtedly French.

Sir Fenwick was governor of his native province, as he had previously for a much longer time been of Canada.

With the town of Annapolis Royal before the final capture of the place by England will always stand connected the memory of a picturesque incident in the history of the granting of titles, the creation of the order of "Baronet of Nova Scotia." After his accession to the English throne, in 1603, James the First persistently sought to replenish the royal treasury by exacting payment for titles. Almost immediately after coming to the throne he issued a summons at Hampton Court charging all who owned land to the value of forty pounds a year to come to the court to receive knighthood, "or to compound with the commissioners." About the same time he proposed to confer knighthood upon all who would give three hundred pounds, to be expended by Sir Bevis Bulmer in the search for gold mines. A more important scheme he fostered was the creation in 1611 of Baronetcies of Ulster, to further the colonization of Ireland and to yield money for his exchequer. Among English land-owners he created two hundred of these baronetcies, each baronet being obliged to pay into the treasury a sum equal to eleven hundred pounds. James died in 1625, but his son Charles in conjunction with his father's favorite William Alexander, the same year established a similar order for Scotsmen, giving to each of the Scottish baronets he made a certain tract of land in Nova Scotia and calling the title after the province where these nominal grants were given. In 1628 Alexander, who before James's death or very soon after, had risen so high in the royal favour as to be created Earl of Stirling, sent his son, the young Sir William, with a company of about seventy Scotch colonists to Port Royal, but during the following year no less than thirty of these died. In 1631, however, Acadia was again ceded to France, and the Scottish settlement disappeared. In name, though never in use, the Scottish baronets created under Stirling's influence in the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, continued to keep the lands in Nova Scotia that had been granted them, and the title "Baronet of Nova Scotia" is borne by a large number of Scottish noblemen today.

On the founding of Halifax by Cornwallis in 1749 the prestige

which for well on to half a century Annapolis Royal had enjoyed as the capital of Nova Scotia forever ceased. The departure of Lieutenant Governor Mascarene with a quorum of his council for the new capital soon after Cornwallis's arrival, brings to an end the distinction the place had so long enjoyed as the seat of the government of a wide new-world domain. In 1755 Major John Handfield was in command of the garrison and assisted in deporting the Acadians who were settled in and near Annapolis Royal, but without doubt after the founding of Halifax the force kept there was very small. In 1846 Captain Thomas Inglis, a son of the third Anglican bishop of Nova Scotia, the Right Reverend Dr. John Inglis, commanded the troops in the fort, the regiment to which he belonged being the Second Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, the major part of the regiment being then stationed at Halifax. The last officer who commanded there, somewhere about 1855 was Lord Kilmarnock, afterwards Earl of Erroll, who belonged to the same regiment as Captain Inglis. After 1855, it is probable there were no troops left at Annapolis.

This, then, briefly, is the story of the first capital of the province of Nova Scotia, whose distinction as capital ended when Halifax was founded in 1749. Treading the old town's quiet streets today we see or hear little to remind us of much that has gone on there in the past. But the visitor, at least, must have little imagination if he fail utterly to catch glimpses of the many warlike scenes that have been enacted there, to hear echoes of the bugle blasts that so long sounded from the fort and the martial music that was played, to see the French flag and the English flag in succession floating above the protecting earthworks, and to watch stern warships plowing the placid waters of the Basin, and busy schooners from Boston anchoring beside the wharves. If the tides that daily sweep through the Basin had voices what strange tales they could tell. If the old fort could speak, or the red river-banks, or the slight mountain ridges, north or south, what stories they might pour into our ears of human passion and human strife they have witnessed. For it is three long centuries now since Champlain and his companions first sailed up the sheltered Basin and stepped foot on the grassy shore.

Dyde's Taverns

THE VICISSITUDES OF MINE HOST'S CALLING IN NEW YORK A CENTURY AGO

By Hopper Striker Mott

UNDER the general name of "Dyde's" a number of early hostelries flourished in New York. Robert Dyde was an Englishman who had removed to the city from Long Island, under an introduction by "a distinguished person in this city," as one who had lived in affluence in London, but by a succession of misfortunes had suffered nearly the entire loss of his property. He had taken at a very heavy rental the hotel belonging to A. Marshall, who the directory lists as living at 28 Park Row. This hostelry adjoined on the north the Park Theatre which occupied lots No. 21, 23 and 25 of that street. The sequence of numbers seems confusing yet the facts are as above stated. This he named the London Hotel (*Commercial Advertiser,* Jan. 29, 1806), and it was announced on his behalf that he depended for the future support of his family upon his success in this new line of life. He proposed to keep it "in a true Old English style, the principals of which are cleanliness, civility, comfort and good cheer."

Here occurred a factional reencounter of note.

The Long Room at Martling's Tavern, at 87 Nassau street, corner Spruce, had been the wigwam of the Tammany Society since 1798, and, immediately after the election of Jefferson, when that Society had become Republican in politics,[1] a division arose

1. Washington's first administration was non-partisan in character, but, with the institution of the financial policies of Hamilton in 1791, party lines assumed definition and the two great parties, Federalist and Republican, sprang into life. The Federalist, under the leadership of Hamilton, advocated a control of the government based upon aristocracy and wealth; while the Republican, under the leadership of Jefferson, upheld the principle of a government based on equal rights and true popular rule. The Anti-Federalist (Republican) leanings of the Society were inevitable as they espoused the principle to which it was dedicated. (*Saint Tammany,* etc., by Kilroe, 1913, p. 193).

Built in 1799, used as a stable by Col. William Stephens Smith. Later residence of Jeremiah Towle, City Surveyor. Located at No. 421 East 61st Street

between the friends of DeWitt Clinton, Chancellor Livingston and Col. Burr in which accusations of faithlessness, dishonesty and duplicity were freely indulged in on both sides, during which Clinton became involved with Col. John Swartwout, a friend of Burr, which terminated in a duel between them at Weehawken, July 28, 1802, wherein Swartwout was wounded. Col. William S. Smith acted as second for the latter, while Richard Riker performed like service for Clinton. A narrative of the encounter will be found in Winfield's *History of Hudson Co.*, p. 207. It resulted in both Swartwout and Burr being dropped from the directorship of the Manhattan Bank in 1803 and DeWitt Clinton in justifying their exclusion, proclaimed his sentiments by calling Swartwout "a liar, a scoundrel and a villain."

Bitterness between the factions was intense until 1806 at which time it was intimated that, as Dyde was a Republican, it would materially serve him if the party would patronize his undertaking. Solicitous to aid a man so highly recommended the matter was mentioned to James Cheetham,[2] late editor of the *American Citizen,* who readily offered to do all in his power to benefit Dyde, whereupon it was suggested that that end might be furthered if a number of political friends would dine at his house immediately after its opening—that this would in a great measure tend to its establishment by making it known. A coalition had been entered into between the Clintonians and the Burrites which had been kept secret until then, when Cheetham, who acquiesced in the above idea, announced that friends of Burr had proposed that if he should be permitted to return to the city, open his office as counsellor at law and no political notice be taken of him on the part of Clinton's friends, they would unite in the enterprise. It was conceived that Burr was so completely prostrated that he could excite no political fears, the proposition was so liberal and it was presumed a refusal might forever estrange all his friends from the Clintonians that the matter was communicated to Clinton, who offered not a single objection, replying that so many old friends uniting upon a condition so unexceptionable and honorable to the party was a subject of

2. James Cheetham, the editor of this paper died (*American Citizen*, Sept. 20, 1812).

great congratulation. Others in the two parties were approached and a union supper was agreed on to be substituted for the dinner. Accordingly on the evening of February 18th sixty-five gentlemen met at Dyde's and at an early hour mine host announced that supper was on the table and a magnificent one it was. Certain toasts were drunk, among them one to Burr highly eulogizing him. Six cheers were called for which were joined in only by his friends, the others present feeling that the condition under which union was proposed did not warrant such a eulogy, and, although they stood, "stared at each other with the wildness of persons suddenly awakened from a dream."

The Republican party, the next day, was up in arms and the coalition was denounced in the strongest terms as an unnatural union and a public outrage. The *Republican Advocate* of Maryland, quoted in the *Evening Post*, March 5, 1806, stated that "verily a supper was very appropriate; for such deeds of dark and terrible infamy ought to be enacted in the night only" and called it a political rascality. And that, notwithstanding the accusations which had been bandied about, the factions had joined forces:

Come let us chant our joys,
  We now are foes no more;
Now we are *honest* boys,
  However so before.

A general meeting was called for February 25th at Martling's, at which thousands assembled, boiling with indignation and resolutions were passed disavowing the proceedings "of a meeting of certain persons at Dyde's Hotel on the 18th, as the act of the party and that Burr does not and ought not to possess the confidence thereof." Considerable political dust was stirred up as related by G. C. Tunison, editor and proprietor *N. Y. Morning Post and Morning Star*, in a pamphlet entitled "Narrative of the Celebrated Dyde Supper," (1811).

In March, 1806, the Park Theatre advertised the play of Macbeth to be followed by the favorite comedy of the Farm House, doors opened at five, the curtain to rise at half-past six.

This annnouncement was followed by a card stating that there could be obtained "an excellent supper at Dyde's Hotel, between the play and farce at 50c. each, the same every night at half-past nine." (*Eve. Post,* March 10). For a time popularity followed Dyde's enterprise. On Sunday evening, January 11, 1807, Mr. Foster preached a sermon there and a meeting of the Philharmonic Society was held on Thursday, January 29th, of that year. (*Eve. Post,* Jan. 28). *The American Citizen* of July 3, 1807, mentions that Dyde had changed the name of his resort to the Washington Hotel, and there in December of the same year the above Society met for the election of officers. Again in Feb., 1808, Mr. Armour, a teacher of dancing, held a public ball. In the early part of the following year the place appears to have been called the Mercantile Coffee House, and later the Commercial Coffee House.

At this time it was not kept by Dyde. In 1808 he had taken "that noble, spacious, elegant and healthy situated house on the banks of the East River, built by Col. Smith and now the residence of Mr. Robertson," which he would shortly open for public entertainment. (*American Citizen,* April 11). Located less than half a mile from Cato's, at the Five Mile Stone, it attracted much the same class of trade. The property had been the country seat of Col. William Stephens Smith and stood between 60th and 61st streets, near the westerly line of First avenue, where it will be found located on the map of 1811 which was reproduced in the April number of the AMERICANA. He bought it from Peter Praa van Zandt and Sarah, his wife, by conveyance dated March 25, 1795, for £5,000. (Sec'y State's Office, 28 Deeds, 477). Van Zandt was a grandson of Wynant Van Zandt, Sr., who married Miss Maria Praa. As late as 1798 he lived and carried on business at 180 Water street. Born May 29, 1708, he became a great merchant in his day, says Walter Barrett, and was Alderman of the Third Ward in 1791, '92 and '93. In the yellow fever epidemic of 1798 he lost two sons, Peter and Thomas. He owned the farm on which he erected the above mentioned mansion and which extended from 59th to 62d streets from the Post Road to the river. Notwithstanding the wording of the quoted advertisement the house was not built by Col. Smith, for the deed to

him conveyed by name the mansion-house, with the barn, boat house, bath-house and outbuildings. The mansion was an elaborate structure of which no view seems to be extant. There is, however, a sketch of its design on the map of the estate, opposite p. 189, Tuttle, which is that of a large building of partial octagon shape, planned, it is stated, after the manner of some of the Georgian country houses in England.

Mr. Smith's career is important and warrants extended notice. During the Revolution he served as acting commissary-general of prisoners at Dobb's Ferry. At the close of the war, when John Adams, afterwards President, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of St. James, (1785-8) Lt. Col. Smith became his Secretary of Legation. It was during his residence in that capacity in London that he married Adam's only daughter, Abigail. That Smith enjoyed the esteem of Washington is apparent from the fact that when, in 1798, Washington was created by the Congress Lieut.-General and Commander in Chief of the army, he proposed the name of Smith to the Secretary of War as a brigadier-general or failing in that as an adjutant-general. He did not obtain either of these appointments, but was made Colonel and afterwards Surveyor and Inspector of the Port of New York. He was engaged in the expedition under General Francisco de Miranda, a native of Caracas, who having had some political difficulty with his government, sought safety in France where he entered her army and received his title. The year 1805 found him in New York where he became acquainted through letters of introduction to several prominent citizens. Among these, besides Col. Smith, were Samuel S. Ogden, Col. Armstrong and Thomas Lewis, the latter Captain of an armed cruiser, the "Leander."

The Butcher's Arms, a public house, was kept by one Fink, on the corner of the Bowery and Bayard street. Here Col. Smith frequently visited after his connection with Miranda and many of the young butchers of the neighborhood were induced to join the expedition. After considerable difficulty in satisfying some of these recruits that the enterprise was legitimate, the "Leander," laden with a quantity of war material, dropped down to Staten Island, where she was boarded by the General and the

enrolled troops. She put to sea Feb. 3, 1806, and arrived at Jacmel in due season. Two other vessels were engaged there and all three proceeded to the island of Buen-Aire. Here they were attacked by two Spanish vessels and two of Miranda's ships were captured, he, however, escaping on the "Leander." Some sixty prisoners were taken to Porto Cavello, where they were imprisoned and soon after tried for piracy. All the officers were ordered to be hanged and then to have their heads cut off; the others were sentenced to ten years at labor, part to be incarcerated at Omoa and the rest at Porto Rico. Many died, some few were pardoned and others endeavored to interest the United States in their welfare without success. An account of this expedition and the butchers' connection with it will be found in DeVoe's *Market Book,* 213. Col. Smith retired to the interior of New York State from whence he was sent as representative to the Congress in 1813. He died three years later.

Some interesting particulars concerning Miranda's attempt to liberate Venezuela are narrated in the newspapers. Tom Paine, in a letter from New Rochelle, dated March 20, 1806, which was printed in the *American Citizen* of the 29th, tells of his connection with the General in Europe and of his getting an introduction to the Empress Catharine, of Russia, from whom he obtained £4,000 stirling. Paine met him first in New York about 1783 and states that he was a man of talent and enterprise, a Mexican by birth whose whole life had been one of adventure. The same paper of April 9th says that the New Yorkers who enlisted in the venture supposed that they were on "a visit to the mines of South America, where they expected to be enriched at one dash." For his part in the undertaking Col. Smith, impleaded with Samuel S. Ogden was indicted by the Grand Jury of having committed offences against the United States by conniving at war with Spain, and was bound over to appear at the April, 1806, term of the Circuit Court. *The American Citizen* during July and August was filled with extensive accounts of the matter. Between three and four o'clock on July 24th the jury retired and at dusk returned a verdict of not guilty against Smith. Ogden was tried later with a like result. *The Evening Post* of Feb. 20, 1808, copies from the Philadelphia *Gazette* a

"list of the unfortunate Americans who were deluded and deceived by Miranda and his base associates from their country and their families, now lying in Dungeons loaded with chains and obliged to perform the most laborious drudgery that is possible can be done by man and hard driven by an unrelenting negro." Included therein was "every person's name, where condemned to and length of sentence; also those that were executed, those who died; also those who made their escape." Sentence was imposed at Porto Cavello on July 12, 1806. In all the total amounted to sixty men and boys "all sacrificed to the avarice of a despicable renegade, supported by a few ill designing men."

Col. Smith's East River seat was known as "Smith's Jolly," because of its expensive construction. The quaint old house standing (1917) near the terminal of the Queensboro Bridge, at 421 E. 61st street, which was built by him for a stable, was erected in 1799; the date is on the rear wall. Just when the two projecting wings in front, connected with a portico and the extension in the rear were added is unknown. This improvement was made in order to remodel the structure for use as a residence. It was bought in 1830 for that purpose by Stevenson Towle, City Surveyor and until 1906 was occupied by his daughters. (*Historical Guide of the City of New York*, 134).

In the *Public Advertiser* of June 27, 1808, Dyde informed the public that the Mount Vernon Hotel was open "and that nothing shall be wanting in his power to give them satisfaction; and pledges himself that the wine, tea, coffee and refreshment of every sort shall be of the best kinds." He added that he could accommodate dinner parties of not exceeding three hundred and would take gentlemen to board during the summer. Among the inducements offered were fine fishing, shooting, salt water bathing, excellent stabling and grass for horses. The distance by water was not more than four miles, boats being easily procured at Fly-Market or New Ferry Stairs. The docks at the resort were opposite the centre of Blackwell's Island, at the time occupied by that family. The island was not sold to the city until 1828.[3]

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3. James Blackwell sold the island, which contained by estimation 109 acres, July 19, 1828, to the corporation for $32,500. (L. 239 Conv. 287). In 1823 he had

Dyde announced in the *American Citizen* of Sept. 9, of that year that a quantity of fine green turtle of all sizes was constantly on hand, fattening in a crawl made for that purpose in the East River. Turtle soup was served every day during the season.

The summer of 1808 saw the completion of a race course ("around the hotel," says the *Public Advertiser* of April 9, 1810), which he advertised as open in the *Daily Advertiser* of Sept. 15, 1808. There he stated, on the track of an exact mile in length which was allowed by judges to be excellent, races would commence on Wednesday, the 21st. "He also took the opportunity of informing that Major Warner's squadron of Cavalry, attended by the Flying Artillery, would be reviewed in his spacious meadow, in front of the hotel, on Monday, the 19th." Another race meet was announced to commence the 19th of October, to continue three days, starting at 12 noon. The rules were: No crossing, jostling or foul play would be allowed; riders must be dressed in the jockey style; the winning horse of each day to be entitled to a handsome purse. 1st Day: Four mile heats, free for all ages, carrying the following weights, viz: An aged horse, 126 lbs.; 6 year old, 122 lbs.; 5 year old, 116 lbs.; 4 year old, 103 lbs., and 3 year old, 98 lbs. Mares, fillies and geldings to be allowed 3 lbs. 2nd Day: Three mile heats, free for all but the winner, weight as above. 3d Day: Two mile heats, the winners of the first and second days excepted, weight the same. (*American Citizen*, Oct. 17, 1808). Regular spring and fall contests were held thereafter.

On Evacuation Day General Morton reviewed his troops there and a dinner was given as part of the festivities, which was so unsatisfactory to some of the participants that they refused to pay for it. Failing to obtain redress Dyde refrained from action until Dec. 1, on which date he published in the above newspaper a notice that the "parties concerned were requested to

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conveyed it to James L. Bell for $30,000, taking in part payment a mortgage. When this was foreclosed Mrs. Magdalena Bell, his widow, commenced proceedings to recover her dower therein. Judgment was rendered in the Court of Chancery, Jan. 4, 1843, in favor of the plaintiff and the Corporation was compelled to pay $20,000 in satisfaction of her claim. (L. 451, 403, Sept. 18, 1844; L. 451, 405, Sept. 11, 1844. For interesting accounts of this controversy *vide Commercial Advertiser*, July 1 and 30, 1839).

pay on or before Thursday next for dinner and other refreshments; otherwise measures would be taken to compel payment." An unsigned communication appeared in the *Republican Watch Tower* of Dec. 3, to the effect that, in reply to Dyde's indecent advertisement, it was only necessary to say that the officers at the Parade alluded to had paid their account a few days after the occurrence. Many of the men refused to dine and of course to pay. The amount was intended to have been collected on the ground, but it was with difficulty they could be restrained from violence, so indignant were they at "the whole of Dyde's conduct on that day. Any demur, therefore, that arose from the settlement of the men's account was owing solely to his own abominable conduct towards them."

In the *Mercantile Advertiser* of Dec. 10, Mr. and Mrs. Dyde join in a wordy defence. General Morton and Col. Loomis, they say, made arrangements for the dinner for the officers and men at two and six pence each and to furnish a repast at "his" (the General's) marque, where the Governor, general officers and the Corporation were to dine for $30, they finding their own wine. Dyde was to fit up twenty-two tents, to furnish them with benches and tables and to cover them with sail cloth at his own expense. The place, the party of whom purchased and the quantity of each provision that was served is stated, but admission is made that, although the materials were bought from the most select places, some of the hams undoubtedly proved to be tainted. This was much lamented. Nevertheless many of the officers and privates, when they came to the suttler's tent, declared that they had enjoyed an excellent dinner. As to the payment of the score Dyde stated that he had been unable to collect it until weeks after the review, although he had come to the city at the Colonel's request a number of times.

The *Public Advertiser* of April 9, 1810, announced the Mount Vernon Spring Races "over that excellent course," to begin Monday the 23d, and to continue for three days. This was Dyde's final season there for he sang his swan song in announcing that he would "quit these premises on Mayday to enter upon the commodious establishment at the foot of Cortlandt street known as Westminster Hall," and would offer "for sale on the third

day at vendue his horses, cows, harness, etc., with farming utensils." During his incumbency he changed the name of this house to the Steamboat Hotel, but did not remain there long. In the *Commercial Advertiser* of April 24, 1811, he advertised it to let, stating that it was "now full of boarders and is without doubt the first stand in the city for business." The new name fitted the location for five steamboats were noticed to run to Albany during the season. The same paper of July 10, 1812, located the hotel on the corner of Washington and Cortlandt streets, which had been occupied by Dyde "until about eighteen months ago." Thereafter we find him at Military Hall, "a little more than a mile up Broadway, on the left hand side," and here he again appealed to the military element. He seems to have had considerable success, notwithstanding his former experience with it.

And now to follow the later history of Col. Smith's country-place. The *Columbian* of Feb. 5, 1811, announced the postponement of a fox-hunt which was to be held at "Bellevue, late Dyde's Hotel," because of the unfitness of the weather. In 1821 William Niblo, the genial host of a well-known public house at the southwest corner of Pine and William streets, took over the place and renamed it "Kensington House," which "spacious tenement" was opened by him on Wednesday, May 22d, for company. He advertised that dinners and tea parties, clubs and societies would be furnished with all the delicacies of the season and at short notice, and that every arrangement had been made calculated to render the establishment an elegant and fashionable resort, particularly for select family parties, a number of private rooms having been fitted up for that purpose. Turtle clubs would find this an agreeable place and the wines and liquors of the first quality. Baths were being erected for the use of boarders and visitors. Niblo established an "elegant double sociable," as he called it, propelled by four fine horses, as an additional means of access to the house, which carried fourteen passengers and ran regularly from his Pine street resort, at the rate of 25c. each individual; seats to be secured at the Bank Coffee House. (*Eve. Post,* May 19, 1821; *National Advocate,* May 22, 1821).

Great preparations were made for the celebration of the Fourth of July under the new management. A steamboat was to leave the Fulton street wharf, E. R., at 8 a. m., which, after making a circuit of Blackwell's Island, would land at Kensington House, with trips to be repeated every two hours. The sociable, too, would start at 7 a. m. and continue during the day. At the resort the public dinner would be served at 2 o'clock; price 50c. Many would-be visitors were disappointed, no doubt, as the "Fire-Fly," the boat engaged, having met with an accident on her return from Albany, was laid up for extensive repairs which were not completed until late on the evening of the Fourth. Niblo announced in the press of the following day that every exertion had been made to procure another boat and begged the public to appreciate the mortification he felt at being unable to accommodate his friends. (*Commercial Advertiser,* July 3, 5, 1821).

A "grand military parade" of the 11th and 14th Regiments of Artillery, commanded by Cols. Benedict and Brett, was advertised for the morning of September 28th of this year in Chatham square, whence the march would be taken up for Kensington House, where encampment would be pitched. A news item in the *N. Y. Gazette and General Advertiser* of the next day denominated this a novel and brilliant event which attracted a numerous concourse of people. In order to accommodate them the sociable left Pine street at stated intervals. (*National Advocate,* Sept. 28). This sociable was not retained in Niblo's service for long. The *Commercial Advertiser* of June 11, 1823, stated that it was running in connection with the Bloomingdale line of stages to the sign of "The Coach and Hosses" at Manhattanville.

The *Evening Post* told of the fire which entirely consumed the building "on Sunday evening about eleven o'clock" in March, 1826. It had lately been occupied as a school by Mr. Wagstaff and was owned by Philip Brasher and Walter Livingston. Insurance for $12,000 was carried. (*Daily Advertiser,* March 28, 1826).

"New Jersey, the Pivot of the Revolution"

By Schuyler M. Cady

IN the space of this article it is difficult to elaborate on the attitude of the population of the Colony of New Jersey toward the British Ministry on that fateful July Fourth, 1776. However, it must be recalled that the tea ships had been sent to Charlestown, Philadelphia, and Boston. At Charlestown the citizens banded together and made the tea ships return to England without unloading. At Philadelphia the tea was landed but stored in damp cellars and allowed to rot; but in Boston the famous "tea party" roused the whole of New England. Then followed numerous attempts by Lord North to punish the people of Massachusetts.

The Boston Port Bill was passed closing the Port of Boston; the Charter of Massachusetts was annulled; the boundaries of Canada, by the Quebec Act, were made to include part of Massachusetts; and troops were sent to scare the people of Boston into submission. The very natural result was the unification of New England into a common purpose, the resistance of oppression. Thus, the New Englanders became the true leaders in the war for Independence. Their Compatriots in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York were quick to follow their leadership; but the Quaker element in Pennsylvania, the Dutch element in New York, and in one or two sections of New Jersey were "pacifists." While those affiliated with the Crown, through New York business connections, or through the fact of holding office under the Crown (not having felt the hand of oppression), were opposed to open rebellion.

On the list of those loyalists, whose property was confiscated by the Legislature of New Jersey after the war began, one may find the names of numerous New Yorkers and New Jersey men.

Lieutenant Col. Edward Vaughan Dongan, of Staten Island; William Luce, of Elizabethport; Thomas Bartow, of Amboy, who had held the office of Surveyor General of the Eastern Division of New Jersey under the Crown; Daniel Isaac Brown, of Hackensack; Albert Zabriskie, of Schraalenburgh; Hendrick Doremus, of Bergen county, all suffered confiscation. William Franklin, natural son of Benjamin Franklin who was the Royal Governor of New Jersey at the outbreak of the war; Hugh Gaine, the New York printer who published the "Mercury;" James Parker who had been a Counsellor to the Royal Governor and Mayor of Perth Amboy; and John Smyth, of Amboy, who had been Treasurer of the Province either openly or secretly espoused the side of the Crown.[1] And sorry to relate, Samuel Tucker, of Trenton, at one time President of New Jersey's Revolutionary Committee of Safety, took British protection in the latter part of 1776.

The presence of pacifists and loyalists in their midst deterred the less courageous from open revolt in New Jersey, and made the labor of the recruiting officers far more difficult than in the New England States. Then, too, the presence of an overwhelming British force that invaded New Jersey under Cornwallis and Howe in 1776 did much to deter the timid. New Jersey needs no apology. Her patriots were countless, but to be a patriot in New Jersey one had to possess a bit of the heroic.

With these facts in mind, one can understand the bitter reproaches contained in Washington's letters in the fall of 1776 when he was being pushed across the State, with his army daily dwindling, by the splendidly equipped army of Cornwallis.

Why New Jersey should develop into the pivot of the Revolution will more readily be seen by a review of the plans for the conquest of the Colonies originally contemplated by the British Ministry and never lost sight of by Washington.

The broad gateway of the Hudson formed a strategic line dividing the hopelessly rebellious New Englanders from the lukewarm middle colonies. "It was the object of Great Britain," writes John Fiske[2] in his "American Revolution," "to

1. See N. J. Archives, Vol. 1.
2. The American Revolution, Vol. 2, page 2.

conquer the United States and accordingly she struck at the commercial and military center of the Confederation."

After the battle of Bunker Hill the British did some "watchful waiting" for nine months permitting Washington to gather and train a considerable army from levies made in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. By March 5th, 1776, Washington had so fortified Dorchester Heights that Sir William Howe very judiciously evacuated Boston twelve days later. On June 28th, the British arrived in New York Bay 30,000 strong. Sir Guy Carleton, in the meantime, had been sent down from Canada with a force to co-operate with the army under Howe, but Sir Guy met with a warm reception and finally withdrew from before Ticonderoga in October, 1776.

A new and elaborate scheme was developed by Lord George German of the English Ministry. Gen. Burgoyne with 8,000 men was to proceed from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, while Col. St. Leger with a smaller force was to march along a converging line down the line of the Mohawk from Oswego on Lake Ontario. Gen. Howe was to move in strength up the Hudson and thus complete the conquest. This plan did not get under way, however, until the spring of 1777. Washington diagnosed the scheme and his first line of defense extended from Albany, through Peekskill, West Point, New York City, Hackensack, Elizabeth, Trenton and Philadelphia.

The defense of New York was an impossible task, as Washington had but 18,000 raw militia to depend upon, enlisted in many cases for only three or four months, and only 8,000 men could be spared for the defense of Brooklyn Heights.

The battle of Long Island was rather a successful retreat than a battle. Gen. Greene lost 3,000 men, taken prisoners at Fort Washington on Nov. 16, 1776, (fortunately Greene's first and last blunder during the war).

Howe, believing that he could speedily end the war by following up and destroying Washington's forces, temporarily abandoned his plan to co-operate with Burgoyne. The American army under Washington was forced to execute a retreat across the Hudson, through Hackensack, Newark, Elizabeth and across New Jersey to the west bank of the Delaware, closely pursued

by Cornwallis. The advance of the British army through New Jersey caused a panic only comparable to that following the invasion of Belgium by the Germans in August, 1914.[3]

The untiring efforts of General Williamson of the New Jersey Militia, assisted by General Mercer, to recruit volunteers to join the American army, were poorly rewarded. Colonel Ford did gather about 800 men together in Morris county and these men under General Maxwell were soon destined to be heard from. From his letter to Continental Congress, dated December 5, 1776, one may judge of Washington's desperate situation. He says: "Sorry I am to observe, however, that the frequent calls upon the militia of this State, the want of exertion in the principal gentlemen of the country, or a fatal supineness and insensibility of danger, till it is too late to prevent an evil that was not only foreseen but foretold, have been the causes of our late disgraces.

"If the militia of this State had stepped forth in season (and timely notice they had), we might have prevented the enemy's crossing the Hackinsac; although without some previous notice of the time and place, it was impossible to have done this at the North River." He continues: "and at Brunswick * * * on the day of the enemy's approach (and probably the cause of it) the term of the Jersey and Maryland brigades service expired; neither of which would consent to stay longer.

"These among ten thousand other instances might be addressed to show the disadvantages of short enlistments and the little dependence upon militia in times of real danger."[4]

The Jersey brigade mentioned in this letter was probably the force of militia commanded by General Nat. Heard and recruited for service on Long Island, but whose terms of enlistment expired on December 1st, 1776.[5] A fair portion of these men reenlisted and became part of Major Philemon Dickinson's division; but the presence of an invading army and the fact that at

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3. See Penn Evening Post, Dec. 28, 1776, for account of the ravishing of 17 women and a child, at Pennytown (N. J. Archives, Vol. 1, series 2).

4. Jared Sparks Writings of Washington, Vol. IV.

5. See "Compilation of New Jersey Troops in the Revolution" by Adj. Gen. Stryker.

this stage American independence seemed to be a fading vision, made the task of Jersey patriots a very difficult one. It must not be forgotten, however, that the three battalions of the New Jersey Continental line that had enlisted for the war were at Ticonderoga or in that vicinity, having been sent there to re-enforce the defending army that Sir Guy Carleton had vainly attempted to dislodge, and that these troops did not return to New Jersey until after January, 1777.

To appreciate the importance of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton that soon followed, we must realize the low ebb in American affairs in December, 1776. On the 18th of that month Washington wrote to his brother, John Augustine Washington, a letter in which he said: "Between you and me our affairs are in a very bad condition; not so much from the apprehension of Gen. Howe's army as from the defection of New York, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania."[6] His army, owing to expiring enlistments, had dwindled to 3,000 men by the time he reached Trenton. In this same letter he writes: "I think the game is pretty nearly up." In the meantime General Howe was offering amnesty to all who would surrender, many a timid Jerseyman making his submission, and his Excellency was being compared with Caesar and showered with honors for his apparent conquest of the Jerseys.

With the arrival of Lee's army of 4,000 men under Sullivan and Gates, Washington decided on quick action. General Maxwell was sent to take command of the militia that had been recruited in the vicinity of Morristown by Col. Ford, with instructions to attack the British garrisons at Springfield, Newark and Elizabeth as soon as a fit opportunity offered. Washington with 2,500 men, the left wing of his army, crossed the Delaware on Christmas night. Ewing, in command of the center, and Cadwalader, in command of the right wing, both failed to get their troops across the river on account of the ice. And, although thus unassisted, their Commander-in-Chief captured the city of Trenton and 918 Hessians. He took up a position on the south side of the Assunpink creek and held it from December 29th to

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6. See Jared Sparks "Writings of Washington," Vol. IV.

January 2d, until Lord Howe arrived with 6,000 men. But Morgan's riflemen, having been sent forward to attack Howe's force in the flank, so delayed the British that they could not attempt an assault on the Continentals until nearly dusk. How Washington during the night, leaving his camp fires brilliantly burning, passed around the rear of the British and at daylight arrived in Princeton in time to put to flight 2,000 men of their rear guard, is recorded history. General Maxwell, in the meantime, with his little force from Morris county, assembled at the Short Hills and proceeded vigorously. On January 5, 1777, he attacked the British troops stationed at Springfield, and according to a news account to be found in the Pennsylvania *Evening Post* of Jan. 23, 1777,[7] killed ten Waldeckers and took forty prisoners. He then set out to relieve Newark, but the British were by now panic struck by the bewildering news of the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and Newark was evacuated. Next, Maxwell captured ninety prisoners at Elizabethtown and drove the British out of the place. Then ensued a battle at Spanktown (now Rahway) the result of which was the withdrawal of the British troops to Perth Amboy. Thus ably did the recruits under Maxwell aid Washington in ridding New Jersey of the British invaders. Well did Cornwallis say that Washington's strategy at Yorktown even did not excel his brilliant achievements in the Jerseys, this first campaign of the war.

For the balance of the winter Howe withdrew all his forces to New Brunswick, Perth Amboy and Staten Island, having determined to make another attempt to cross New Jersey in the spring and take Philadelphia if possible.

Morristown, being a secure position from which the British positions could be safely watched, became the logical winter quarters for the American army. Washington's line of defense ran from Albany, commanded by General Schuyler, through the Highlands where Putnam was stationed, Peekskill where Sullivan and Lord Stirling were stationed, through Pompton to Morristown. If Howe should start up the Hudson as was originally planned, to join Burgoyne and St. Leger, who were marching

7. See N. J. Archives, Vol. 1, page 270.

southward, the American army could be speedily shifted to the Highlands; but in case the attempt on Philadelphia were to be renewed, Washington stood ready to attack the British on the flank.

Thus New Jersey became not only the pivot of Washington's defensive plan, but during 1776, 1777 and 1778 proved to be the chief battle ground of the war. The events to follow will show that notwithstanding raids on the New England coast, and a futile campaign by the British in the South, New Jersey continued to be the pivot of the Revolution.

In June, 1777, Howe, having failed to receive definite instructions to join Burgoyne, left that General in the lurch; and from Staten Island started to march across New Jersey with most of his force. At New Brunswick he found himself with his right flank threatened by a Continental army of 8,000 men gathered at Bound Brook. After some time taken up in countermarching, Howe withdrew his army to Staten Island, and Washington again extended his lines up into the Highlands, still fearing an advance up the Hudson. Howe, however, started for Philadelphia by sea. Leaving Stirling in the Highlands on the west bank of the Hudson and placing Sullivan in command at Morristown, Washington proceeded to the defense of Philadelphia.

At Brandywine Washington with 11,000 men faced 18,000 under Howe. The Americans were untrained but ably commanded by Generals Greene, Wayne and Sullivan who had been brought down from Morristown with his command. They were forced to retreat, but they delayed Howe's marching into Philadelphia, twenty-six miles from Brandywine Creek, for two weeks. Washington had already heard of St. Leger's flight and Burgoyne's urgent need of assistance, so that this battle and the maneuvering in the defense of Philadelphia prevented Howe from sending aid to Burgoyne who by this time (Sept. 26, 1777), was beset by Arnold and Morgan and a gathering army of 14,000 Americans under General Schuyler. To be sure General Gates superseded Schuyler in time to get the glory for the victory of Saratoga. The surrender of Burgoyne's army took place Oct. 17, 1777.

The battle of Germantown (Oct. 4, 1777), was the result of an attempt by Washington to destroy a section of the British Army

at that town while the balance of the army under Howe were engaged in reducing the forts on the Delaware. A confusing fog caused the plan to miscarry, Gen. Stephen's troops firing on Gen. Wayne's men by mistake, and Washington was forced to withdraw.

The terrible winter at Valley Forge ensued. The American line during the winter of 1777-1778 extended from Valley Forge, commanding Philadelphia, through Westfield and Elizabeth, where troops were posted to guard against invasions from Staten Island, to West Point where powerful fortifications had lately been erected.

Having accomplished nothing by holding Philadelphia, Clinton then in command of the British army evacuated that city on June 18, 1778, and proceeded through New Jersey by way of Allentown and Monmouth with the intention of embarking his troops at Sandy Hook for New York. The battle of Monmouth ensued on June 28, 1778. The traitor, Charles Lee, by refusing to let his division attack, saved the British army from probable destruction, although the timely arrival of Washington turned a retreat into a victory. The enemy reached their boats after suffering heavy losses.

Washington proceeded to White Plains in the hope of becoming the aggressor. The French had at last sent Count d' Estaing with 18 ships and 4,000 men to aid the colonies. A plan was formed to attack Clinton in New York, but owing to the inability of several of the larger French ships to cross a bar, then existing at the entrance to New York Harbor, the plan failed. Washington then sent troops to Rhode Island under Sullivan to drive the British out of Newport; but d'Estaing failed to co-operate with his ships, owing to bad weather, and this plan failed. The siege of Newport was raised when news came of Clinton's approach from New York with 5,000 men.

In December, 1778, Washington chose Middlebrook, New Jersey, (now Bound Brook) for his headquarters and posted the Jersey Brigade under Maxwell at Elizabethtown. He also posted forces under Putnam at Danbury, Conn., to watch Clinton in New York.

The first week in June, 1779, he took up his position at New

Windsor on the Hudson. In December, 1779, Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis set sail with 8,000 men for Savannah, Geogia. Having failed at breaking the center of the colonies, they figured that Georgia and the Carolinas being distant from the strife of war and without the support of ardent New England neighbors would readily submit. Clinton joined by Prevost with 2,000 fresh troops laid siege to Charleston which General Lincoln tried to hold with an army of 7,000 men. He was forced to surrender in May, 1780. Gates was entrusted with the command in the South, but his terrible defeat at Camden in August, 1780, where he lost his army of 3,000 men forced Congress to yield to Washington who had vainly urged Gen. Greene for that command. Greene proceeded at once to nearly destroy Carleton's force at Cowpens on Jan. 17, 1781, and with Morgan's aid he drove Cornwallis up into Yorktown, Virginia; there to be trapped by Lafayette, Steuben, Rochambeau and Washington, with the French fleet blocking the harbor.

The importance of New Jersey during the fighting in the South is illustrated by the fact that through it all Washington maintained his lines from West Point to Philadelphia, with troops under Lord Stirling at Saratoga and 4,000 Continentals under Gen. Heath at West Point.

In the fall of 1779 Washington's main army lay at West Point and Maxwell's Brigade at Westfield;[8] Lord Stirling's force at Haverstraw, N. Y.; Wayne's at Paramus, N. J.; Baylor's Light Horse at Peckman's River 8 miles back of Aquachinunk. Wayne, however, wintered at Westfield; Stirling at Elizabeth; and Washington's forces at Basking Ridge and Morristown.[9]

The reason for the invasion of New Jersey by Gen. Kuyphausen from Staten Island, in June, 1780, which resulted in the skirmish of June 7th and the so-called battle of Springfield, on June 23d, has been variously stated. Gen. Greene in his report frankly states that he could not fathom any reason for it. I am inclined to believe that it was intended to be a raid comparable to that on Danbury, or the raid on New London, Conn.,

8. See N. J. Archives, 2d series Vol. IV.
9. See N. J. Archives, Vol. IV, page 129.

whose object was to prevent Washington from sending any more troops to relieve the American army in Charleston. Possibly it was a serious attempt to take Morristown, the central pivot of the American defense; but Clinton's invading force of 5,000 men was clearly insufficient for such a purpose in the face of the spirited defense put up by the Americans engaged.

Clinton did attempt a clever ruse between the first advance toward Springfield and the final attempt of June 23, 1780, sending about ninety ships up the Hudson as though to attack West Point. Washington at once started the main body of his army at Morristown for the Pompton Turnpike, leaving Gen. Greene with only about 1,500 men to defend Springfield. The "Minute Men" who gathered at the first signal of invasion probably swelled the number of defenders, but it is doubtful that more than 2,000 men were under Greene's command at Springfield. By the time the main body of the American army had been recalled to Morristown, the invaders were retreating to Elizabethtown.

With the fall of Yorktown Oct. 19, 1781, the Pennsylvania troops under Wayne were sent into winter quarters at Morristown and Maxwell's Jersey Brigade were sent to Pompton. With a change of ministry in England the further prosecution of the war was abandoned, but troops were stationed through New Jersey until New York was evacuated by the British in 1783.

At Fishkill, near Peekskill, are still many Revolutionary landmark, including a church once used as a military hospital. The Pompton Turnpike of today was the highway, shifted to be sure in some localities, that connected the West Point defenses with Paramus, Hackensack and Morristown, and the old highways from Morristown to Bound Brook and from Bound Brook to Trenton are still in existence. Well might New Jersey have been called the Highway of the Revolution.

Should by any possible chance a foreign enemy in future years, finding America unprepared, be enabled to take New York City with the logical purpose of cutting off New England from the Middle States, would not New Jersey again become the pivot of the nation's defense? And I venture to say that with the High-

lands of the Hudson on her left, with the Orange Mountains shielding her heart from Caldwell to Somerville, and with the aid of modern artillery, New Jersey would both form an impregnable barrier to further advance by the enemy and command at will their movements. New York City would, in fact, become another Gallipoli Peninsula.

As a military genius, Washington was quick to see and to plan. He employed the natural advantages furnished by New Jersey's hills and highways in the Nation's defense.

And so in the future, if called upon, New Jersey's hills and highways both roads and railroads, will be a natural stumbling block to foreign invasion.

The Reversus, a Fishing Tale of Christopher Columbus

By C. R. Eastman

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TRULY a remarkable fish story that, which should require an analysis of the earliest sources of American history in order to attest its credibility. Nevertheless there lies buried among the contemporary narratives that have come down to us of the second voyage of Columbus in 1494, a tale of fish and fishermen of such interest and novelty and apparent truthfulness as will repay attention on the part of present-day students of history and natural science.

The original narrator of the fishing incident about to be described appears to have been Columbus himself. Unfortunately, however, the log or journal kept by the great navigator during his second voyage is no longer extant; but we possess abridgements of it in what passes for the life of Columbus, by his son Ferdinand, and also in the history of the Indies which we owe to that man of revered memory, Bartolomé de las Casas.

There has also been preserved for us a letter written by a naturalist who accompanied Columbus during his second voyage, Dr. Chanca; and much information derived from personal intercourse with the Admiral and the men under his command is embodied in the writings of Peter Martyr, of Anghera, sometimes styled the "father of American history," and in the chronicles of Andrés Bernáldez, curate of Los Palacios, in Andalusia. It is of record that Columbus placed his journals and other papers in the hands of Bernáldez, whose guest he was in 1496. Thirteen chapters of the curate's book are devoted to an account of Columbus and his discoveries. These, then, are the original

sources to be consulted in regard to the happenings which took place during the memorable second voyage to the West Indies.

From the writings that have just been mentioned we learn that the Spaniards came upon a party of native fishermen off the coast of Cuba who were engaged in the capture of marine turtles, the means employed by them for that purpose being wholly unlike anything ever seen or heard of in Europe. In a word, it consisted in the use of a Sucking-fish, known to naturalists as the *Remora,* which, after having been caught and tethered (so to speak) by means of a cord attached to its body, was allowed to fasten itself by its sucking disc to another fish or turtle, whereupon both were drawn in. Historians have frequently repeated the narrative, but only a single naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt, appears to have inquired into the premises at all carefully. It may therefore be instructive for us to compare two or three of the different versions that are contained in the original sources, after which we may be better able to interpret the actual facts.

First of all it will be of interest to traverse in imagination with Columbus the route by which he steered his caravals amid the verdant, perfume laden isles that dot the sea near Cuba, as he sailed westward in the month of May, 1494, with the project not only of finding a new route to India, but of actually sailing round the world. This we know from what Ferdinand Columbus tells us in a passage undoubtedly derived from his father's journal of the second voyage, "that if he had had abundance of provisions he would not have returned to Spain except by way of the East." (Hist., p. 166). Through the irony of fate the Admiral was obliged to turn back from near that point where the fishing scene was witnessed, when two or three days more sailing would have proved to him the insular character of Cuba, and might have led to the immediate discovery of Yucatan, or Mexico.

We shall let Ferdinand tell us in his own language, which we may be sure follows very closely his father's journal, of what took place as the first European vessels to navigate along the southern coast of Cuba came upon the Queen's Gardens. The

English rendering here given is found in the second volume of Churchill's Voyages (p. 536), and reads thus:

"On Saturday, the 3rd of May, the Admiral resolved to sail over from Cuba to Jamaica, that he might not leave it behind without knowing whether the report of such plenty of gold they heard there was in it, prov'd true; and the wind being fair, and he almost half way over, discovered it on Sunday. Upon Monday he came to an anchor, and thought it the beautifullest island of any he had yet seen in the Indies, and such multitudes of people in great and small canoes came aboard that it was astonishing. . . .

"The wind being somewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make so much way as he wished, till on Tuesday the 13th of May he resolved to stand for Cuba, to keep along its coast, designing not to return till he had sailed 500 or 600 leagues, and were satisfied whether it were an island or continent. . . .

"The nearer they sailed to Cuba, the higher and pleasanter the little islands appeared which were all over that sea, and it being a matter of difficulty and to no purpose to give every one of them a name, the Admiral called them all in general *Jardin de la Reina,* the Queen's Garden. . . . In these islands they saw crows and cranes like those of Spain, and sea-crows [gulls], and infinite numbers of little birds that sung sweetly, and the air was as sweet as if they had been among roses, and the finest perfumes in the world; yet the danger was very great, there being such abundance of channels, that much time was spent in finding the way out.

"In one of these channels they spy'd a canoe of Indian fishermen, who very quietly, without the least concern, awaited the boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a sign to them in it to attend till they had done fishing.

"Their manner of fishing was so strange and new to our men that they were willing to comply with them. It was thus: they had ty'd some small fishes they call *Reverso* by the tail, which run themselves against other fish, and with a certain roughness they have from the head to the middle of the back they stick fast to the next fish they meet; and when the Indians perceive it drawing their line, they hand them both in together. And it was a tortoise our men saw so taken by those fishermen, that fish [the *Reverso*] clinging about the neck of it, where they generally fasten, being by that means safe from the other fish biting them; and we have seen them fasten upon vast sharks.

"When the Indians in the canoe had taken their tortoise, and

two other fishes they had before, they presently came very friendly to the boat, to know what our men would have, and by their directions went along aboard the ships, where the Admiral treated them very courteously. . . .

"Proceeding thence, and bearing up closer to Cuba, they saw tortoises of a vast bigness, and in such numbers that they covered the sea. At break of day they saw such a cloud of seacrows that they darkened the sun, coming from the seaward to the island, where they all lighted; besides them, abundance of pigeons, and birds of other sorts were seen, and the next day there came such swarms of butterflies that they darkened the air, and lasted till night, when the rain carried them away." . . .

In the brief description which is here given of the captive "fisherman-fish," or *Reverso,* we are told that it has a peculiar asperity along the back. Ferdinand's "Historie" has not come down to us in its original Spanish form, but is known only in translations, the earliest being that of Ulloa, in Italian. It may be that the English rendering to the effect that the *Reverso* was armed with "a certain roughness from the head to the middle of the back" does not accurately convey the sense of the original. At all events a slightly different description is given in the French version, which reads: "Certain petit poisson qui porte de piquants crochus se relevant à contresens de son corps," etc. The latter characterization agrees better with the Porcupine-fish, or Diodon, than the *Remora,* and both are included under the term of "*Reversus*" by the "fathers" of ichthyology, one being called the spinous, and the other the anguilliform variety.

In the Histories of Las Casas and Herrera we read practically the same account of fishing with the Reversus as that given by Ferdinand Columbus. Of similar purport, also, but closely agreeing in literary style with the writings of the famous discoverer, is the account of the same fishing scene in Queen's Garden which we find in the chronicle *Andrés Bernáldez* (Hist. Reyes Catól., chap. 126). We now present this passage in English form.

CHAPTER CXXVI

"Of a great number of Islands which were Discovered.

"The Admiral set sail [from Jamaica] with his three caravels, and sailed 24 leagues towards the west, as far as the gulf Buen Tiempo. . . . On Whitsunday, 1494, they stopped at a place which was uninhabited—but not from the inclemecy of the sky, or the barrenness of the soil,—in the midst of a large grove of palm-trees, which seemed to reach from the sea-shore to the very heavens. . . . Here they all rested themselves upon the grass about these fountains, enjoying the charming fragrance of the flowers, and the melody of the song of birds, so many and so sweet, and the shade of the palm trees, so tall and so beautiful, that the whole was a wonder. . . . As the number of islands in this region was so great that he could not give to each a separate name, the Admiral called them all by the common name of the Queen's Gardens.

"On the day following, the Admiral being very desirous to fall in with some natives with whom he might parley, there came a canoe to hunt for fish,—they call it hunting, and they hunt for one fish with others of a particular kind. They have certain fishes which they hold by a line fastened to their tails, and which are like conger-eels in shape, and have a large mouth [i. e head] completely covered with suckers, like the octopus. They are very fierce, like our ferrets, and when they are thrown into the water they fly to fasten themselves upon whatsoever fish they may espy, and sooner die than let go their hold till they are drawn out of the water.

"The hunting fish is very light, and as soon as he has taken hold, the Indians draw him by the long cord attached to his body, and in this manner they take a fish each time on drawing both to the surface of the water.

"As these hunters were at a distance from the caravel, the Admiral sent his boats to them with armed men, contriving it so that they should not escape to the land. As the boats came up to them, these hunters called out to the men in mildest manner and as unconcernedly as if they had known them all their lives, to hold off, because one of the fishes had fastened upon the under side of a large turtle, and they must wait till they had got it into the canoe. This our men did, and afterwards they took the canoe, and those in it, together with four turtles each of which was three feet in length, and brought them to the ships of the Admiral; and there they gave some account of these islands, and of their cacique who was close at hand, and had sent them to hunt. They asked the Admiral to go on shore, and they

would make for him a great feast and would give him all of the turtles they had caught."

Clearly the description just given refers to the "eel-like *Reversus*" or *Remora*, and so far as the description goes it is a more dependable sketch than the portrayal which Peter Martyr has preserved for us in the pioneer collection of voyages,[1] published in 1504, and "De Rebus Oceanis" of 1511. The following narrative is taken from the fifteenth chapter of the "Libretto":

"Continuing [along the coast of Cuba] they found further onward some fishermen in certain of their boats of wood excavated like *zopoli*, who were fishing. In this manner they had a fish of a form unknown to us, which has the body of an eel and larger: and upon the head it has a certain very tender skin which appears like a large purse. And this fish they drag, tied with a cord to the edge of the boat, because it cannot endure a breath of air. And when they see any large fish or reptile, they loosen the noose and this fish at once darts like an arrow at the other fish or other creature, throwing over them this skin which he has upon his head; which he holds so firmly that they are not able to escape, and he does not leave them if they are not taken from the water; but as he feels the air he leaves his prey and the fishermen quickly seize it. And in the presence of our people they took four large turtles which they gave our people for a very delicate food."

The entertaining writer whom we have just quoted gives a more elaborate account of this same incident, and manner of fishing with the Reversus, in the work by which he is best known, the "Decades of the Ocean," first published in 1511; but it is not necessary to follow these later modifications.

The next writer to treat of the same theme, with considerable enlargement of detail, is the well known historian Oviedo, whose "Summario" was published in 1516, and larger work on the "History of the Indies" in 1535. Oviedo gives a lively account of the intelligence of the "fisherman-fish," which he asserts was

1. Libretto de Tutta la Navigatione de Re de Spagna, de le Isole et Terreni Novamente Trovati. The text for this Libretto was written some time previous to the summer of 1501, and was reproduced in the fourth book of the "Paesi Novamente Retrovati," first published at Vicenza in 1507.

reared in captivity by the natives and trained to catch prey "as huntsmen or falconers use hounds or hawks in their game." But in his description of the fish itself Oviedo has strangely confused the characters of the Sucking-fish with those of Diodon. Thus, he speaks of the "*Reverso*" as being covered with imbricating scales, upon which are "certain prickles very sharp and strong, whereby he fastens himself to what fish he pleaseth; and these prickly scales he hath on most parts of his body."[2] Ferdinand Columbus also, as we have seen, describes the *Reverso* as armed with backwardly pointing spines, which of course suggests Diodon. And it is Diodon that we find figured alongside of the *Remora* in 16th to 18th century ichthyological writings as if it were a second variety of "species" of the so-called "*Reversus.*" Its curious antics on being hooked were first described by Pere Du Tertre in 1657 (Hist. Antilles, II, p. 209).

One may inquire whence the name Reversus was derived; and the answer would seem to be that it is cognate in meaning with the classic name of the fish Remora, or Echeneis, which signifies "holding back."[3] That the *Remora*,[3½] or "ship-holder," actually impeded the progress of sailing vessels in an extremely ancient legend, which has survived to modern times. The subject is illustrated in Greek and Roman ceramic art, and occurs repeatedly in classic as well as medieval literature.

How it happened that in the time of Columbus Diodon should become confused with *Remora* in the alleged capacity of a hunting-fish is a puzzling question. We may conjecture, however, that the Porcupine-fish was among the number of specimens which, as Columbus tells us in the Journal of his first voyage, he ordered to be salted and carried back to Spain.[4] One of these

2. This sentence is taken from "Purchas his Pilgrimes," III, p. 994.

3. The Cuban naturalist Felipe Poey suggests that the name *Reverso* was applied by the Spaniards to the fish "parce que l'animal parait tourne *au rebours*, quand il se fixe." (Hist. Nat. de Cuba, II, p. 249). Peter Martyr offers a like explanation of the etymology.

3½. See Dr. Gunther's article on the *Remora*, in Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. for 1860, ser. 3, vol. 5, p. 386.

4. In the Journal of the First Voyage, part of the entry for Friday, 16th of November, 1492, reads as follows:

"The sailors also fished with nets, and, among many others, caught a fish which was exactly like a pig, not like a tunny, but all covered with a very hard skin, without a soft place except the tail and the eyes, and an opening on the under side for voiding the superfluities. It was ordered to be salted, to bring home for the Sovereigns to see."

was thought by Cuvier to have been the trunk-fish;[5] and another may well have been Diodon, these two forms being especially suitable for preservation, and as a matter of fact were well represented in the primitive museums of the time. And being exhibited at the Court of Spain, one can conceive that the legend of the "*Reverso*" became associated with this fish, and also the tale of its being trained for the capture of other fish.

So much for the original sources of the "Reversus" fishing incident: let us now consider its credibility. Humboldt, a century ago, gave full credence to the narrative, as related by Ferdinand Columbus, and conjectured that the species of Sucking-fish employed by the natives at Queen's Gardens was probably *Echeneis naucrates*.[6] He also recalled that the French naturalist Commerson had noted among the inhabitants of Mozambique a similar use of the Remora for the capture of marine turtles; and cited Dampier (erroneously, however) and Captain Rogers to the same effect. From still another source, namely, the voyage of the Swedish traveler, Dr. Andrew Sparrman,[7] we learn of South African natives near the Cape of Good Hope making use of the Remora in identical manner for the capture of marine turtles.

In order that the reader may judge of the similarity of the accounts of African and West Indian fishing with the Remora, we present at this point an English rendering of Commerson's observations. The original is found in Lacepedes "Natural History of Fishes" (1798-1803).

"The Indian Remora is also very common about the coasts of Mozambique, where it is sometimes made use of for the following very singular manner of catching turtles. A ring is fastened

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Still earlier, under date of October 16th, Columbus wrote this entry, which may be compared in style with the language quoted from Bernaldez in describing the Queen's Gardens:—

"Here the fish are so unlike ours that it is wonderful. Some are of the shape of dories, and of the finest colors in the world, blue, yellow, red and other tints, all painted in various ways, and the colors are so bright that there is not a man who would not be astonished, and would not take great delight in seeing them. There are also whales. I saw no beasts in the island [of Cuba] of any kind, except parrots and lizards."

5. See G. Brown Goode on American Trunk-fishes in Proc. U. S. Nat. Museum, 1879, pp. 261-283.

6. Recueil d'Observ. Zool., II. p. 192.

7. Voyage au Cap de Bonne Esperance, II, p. 431, Paris, 1787.

round the tail of the fish, in such a manner as to prevent its escape, and a long cord fastened to the ring. When thus prepared, the fish is carried in a vessel of sea-water, and when the boatmen observe a turtle sleeping, as is the frequent custom of those animals, on the surface of the water, they approach as near as possible without disturbing it; and then, throwing the Remora into the sea, and giving it the proper length of cord, it soon attaches itself to the breast of the sleeping turtle, which is thus easily drawn to the boat by the fishermen."

The distinguished ichthylogist Dr. Albert Gunther, in referring to the accounts of Commerson and others, expresses doubt as to their genuineness, and states that they appear to have originated rather from an experiment than from regular practice. Nevertheless, the testimony of earlier observers seems to be confirmed by several modern writers whose relations are substantially similar to the older narratives. Dr. Gudger, for instance, has collected a number of "eye-witnesses" accounts of fishing with the Remora being carried on at the present day. Poey, the genial Cuban naturalist, saw no reason for distrusting the Jardinellas fishing tale, though he was unaware of the practice being continued anywhere in modern times. On the whole there appears to be no sufficient reason for doubting the tale that has come down to us from the time of the great discoverer, and it is pleasant to read his narrative with full confidence in its veracity.

Was the American Revolution the Work of a Minority?

By Humphrey J. Desmond

"THE American Revolution, like most other revolutions, was the work of an energetic minority, who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love and leading them, step by step, to a position from which it was impossible to recede." (Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century, ch. XI).

John Fiske ("American Revolution," ch. IV) from the American side, considers it "a preposterous theory" that "the American Revolution was the work of an unscrupulous and desperate minority." "No one," he continues, "who is familiar with the essential features of American political life, can for a moment suppose that the Declaration of Independence was brought about by any less weighty force than the settled conviction of the people that the priceless treasure of self-government could be preserved by no other means."

Here is an issue joined between an English and an American historian, each seeming to inherit the point of view of his own country at the time that the great feud arose: English statesmen prone to minimize the importance of the colonial protest, and hearing too much of the sort of report they liked to hear about the loyalty of the colonists; the American leaders, on the other hand, realizing that events were marching their way, and more radical steps preparing, than they cared presently to make public.

As to the number of loyalists, we have many facts to warrant the opinion that they were fully a third of the colonial population.

1. When Gen. Gage evacuated Boston, in 1776, a thousand of its inhabitants went with him to Halifax.

2. When General Howe evacuated Philadelphia, in June, 1778, three thousand Philadelphians went into voluntary exile with the British troops.

3. There was the less credible estimate that 100,000 loyalists left New York (1777-8), and settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

4. In North Carolina, a settlement of Scotch Highlanders, moved by the good treatment accorded them after Culloden, raised a force of 1,600 men to aid the British.

5. When Howe was pursuing Washington through New Jersey, in 1776, he issued a proclamation offering full pardon to all who would take an oath of loyalty. Six thousand Jersey men hastened to accept the condition.

6. These were the times that tried men's souls, and Washington during that gloomy period, wrote that it would be just as easy for the British to recruit their forces from among the colonists, as for the patriotic army to enlist new men. Such was the state of public feeling. It is estimated that during the war, 25,000 colonists joined the British army.

Lecky thinks that it was the adventurous immigrants, who had lately poured in from Ireland and Scotland, who ultimately bore the chief part for the colonies in the war of independence.

One thing which must have its weight with thoughtful observers is the comparatively small army the colonists put in the field to win their independence. Washington never at any time during the Revolution had 25,000 men under arms, although the population of the colonies was over two millions. In the Boer war of 1900, a community of 300,000 had 40,000 men under arms. However it must not be forgotten that many of the colonies held for home duty bodies of militia what must have aggregated fully 40,000 men.

Timothy Pickering spoke of Pennsylvania as the "enemies country." John Adams declared that "New York and Pennsylvania were so nearly divided; if their property was not against us—that if New England on one side and Virginia on the other had not kept them in awe they would have joined the Brit-

ish." In Georgia their (the loyalists) majority was so great that in 1781 they were preparing to detach that colony from the general movement of the rebellion says Moses Coit Taylor (His history Am. Rev. 1, 298).

The loyalists themselves assumed that they were a majority of the colonists. "In nearly every loyalists letter or paper" says Sabine (American Loyalists, pp. 65) "that I have ever examined—it is either assumed or stated in terms that loyalists were in the majority."

Lecky quotes Galloway, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, as testifying that four-fifths of the colonists were against cutting the connection with England; and another contemporary, General Robertson, estimated the loyalists at two-thirds of the population.

These estimates undoubtedly exaggerated the number of loyalists. However, John Adams asserted more than once in the latter part of his life, that one-third of the people of the colonies were Tories; and on one occasion, mentioned the matter in a letter to his old compatriot, Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of every American Congress from that of 1765 to the close of the Revolution. "You say," wrote McKean in reply, "that about one-third of the people of the colonies were against the Revolution! It required much reflection before I could fix my opinion on this subject; but on mature deliberation, I conclude you are right, and that more than a third of influential characters, were against it."

Re-iterating this view in 1815 Adams made the following observation: "I should say that fully one-third were averse to the Revolution. These, retaining that overseeing fondness, in which they had been educated, for the English, could not cordially like the French; indeed, they most heartily detested them. An opposite third conceived a hatred for the English, and gave themselves up to an enthusiastic gratitude to France. The middle third composed principally of the yeomanry, the soundest part of the nation, and always averse to war, were rather lukewarm to both England and France; and sometimes stragglers from them, and sometimes the whole body united with the first

or last third according to circumstances." (Adams Works, X. P. 110).

Prof. Moses Coit Taylor makes some interesting inquiries into the social status of the Revolutionary Tories (Literary History of the American Revolution). He continues that "the majority of those who, of whatever occupation, of whatever grade of culture or of wealth, would now be described as conservative people, were Tories during the American Revolution."

Among the Tories, Prof. Tyler would place a vast majority of those who stood for the commercial interests, the capital and the tangible property of the country, and who disapproved of carrying the dispute to the point of civil war. Another class of Tories was made up of people of the professional occupation, clergymen, physicians, lawyers, teachers, of whom a decided majority were against the ultimate measures of the Revolution.

One significant piece of evidence is mentioned:

"In the act of banishment passed by Massachusetts in September, 1778, against the most prominent of the Tory leaders in that state are the names of 310 of her citizens. Prof. Tyler has gone over the names, and says that this list of men denounced to exile will read almost like the bead roll of the oldest and worthiest families concerned in the founding of New England. Of the 310 men of Massachusetts so banished, more than sixty were graduates of Harvard."

There is food for reflection in the fact that this forward step in political liberty may have been taken against the judgment of a majority of the educated and conservative people of the colonies.

Probably one-third of the colonists were indifferent; and another third Tory. The remaining patriotic one-third forced the movement by methods and means common in all revolutions, but hardly of a kind for the approval of scholars and moralists. One of the British generals described the loyalists as habitually "timid" and the patriots as habitually "inveterate."

Long before the Battle of Lexington, the patriotic campaign was already employing intimidation as against the loyalists. The most effective step was taken promptly at the outset. This

was the individual and organized proceeding of taking away the arms and ammunition of all loyalists. Disarming parties went from house to house and prosecuted this work with energy and intelligence. Then followed other repressive and punitive measures against those who were "rocking the boat." A loyalist was defined as "a thing whose head is in England, whose body is in America, and its neck ought to be stretched." The boycott was everywhere a favorite weapon of the sons of Liberty. The American Archives show that during three summer months of 1774, there were thirty instances of tarring and feathering, among many other outrages committed upon those who failed to show their adhesion to the growing movement. The term "Lynch law" dates from this period—a summary method of justice deriving its name from the brother of the man who founded Lynchburg, Va. (Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 88. page 731).

All through the Revolution, the loyalists continued to be victims of confiscatory and penal legislation. In New York where more than half the landed property belonged to the loyalists the state received over three million dollars from these forfeited estates and another three million in personal property. England spent over thirty million dollars in relieving and rehabilitating the fortunes of the emigrant loyalists.

Mount Vernon Today

By Elizabeth B. A. Rathbone

Vice Regent Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association

IN 1859 when Mount Vernon—the Home of George Washington, came into the possession of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, it presented a picture of desolation, bordering on ruin. Its gardens and lawns were unkept and grown with weeds and shrubs; its roads were badly washed and rough; many of the outbuildings had disappeared, and the fences were gone. The doors of the "Mansion" were off their hinges, the panes in the windows broken, and the fine old East Gallery, where the pillars had given way, was propped up by the masts of derelict sloops, and schooners. Decay and impending ruin were stamped upon everything visible, and the atmosphere of order, prosperity and hospitality, which had impressed his guests, in Washington's time, had given place to disorder and neglect.

It could not be helped, and no blame could be attached to the Washingtons who lived at Mount Vernon, for they had become impoverished by entertaining their fellow citizens and the nation's guests, who came from all over the world to pay their tributes of love and honor at the nation's shrine. The last of the family of Washington, at Mount Vernon, had reached a point when he could do no more, and he was glad to turn the guardianship of Mount Vernon over to the patriotic women of America, represented by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, which had raised the funds for its purchase.

The Association began at once, on acquiring the ownership, in 1859, to take steps for the restoration of Mount Vernon. It is of this work of restoration and reconstruction that I will give an account.

The sum of $200,000.00 was raised by the Association for the purchase of Mount Vernon, in which was included the tomb, the mansion, lawns and gardens, and two hundred acres of land. I should explain that the Association is composed of a regent and vice-regents representing all the states of the Union. It began in 1859 making the most necessary repairs. The doors and windows were mended, the mansion was painted, new pillars were supplied for the east portico, the lawns were weeded and cut, the roads were repaired, the gardens trimmed and ordered.

A boat was purchased to bring visitors to Mount Vernon, and the entrance fee they paid provided an income for maintenance and further work. The restoration, however, had hardly begun when the Civil War, like a hurricane swept over the country, and put a red line of division between the North and the South.

No more work could be done at Mount Vernon, but all through the war it had the distinction of being the only spot of neutral ground in the warring states, as by command of the generals of both armies in the vicinity of Mount Vernon, the "Boys in the Blue, and the Boys in the Gray," stacked their arms outside the gates and met as brothers at the tomb of Washingotn. This may have been a potent influence in eventual reconciliation.

When the war was over the work of reconstruction began anew. Another boat was secured to take the place of the one the Government had impressed in its service as a transport for troops. Mr. Riggs, the Washington banker, advanced funds for running expenses, and the Federal Government paid a small indemnity for the use of the boat.

So there was renewed activity at Mount Vernon, and the work has continued uninterruptedly for over forty years, until now his old home apparently is restored in all details, that made it in Washington's time so perfectly equipped, and adapted for its uses as a country gentleman's home and plantation. Mount Vernon under the direction of the trained eye and mind of its master, was many years in reaching its complete development. So it has taken many years to restore it to what it was when Washington died.

Today, however, we see as we approach it through the west

gate, the old approach—a restored Mount Vernon. Seen across the vast lawn, or "bolling green," it is an imposing colonial country home, individual in its architecture, and of sufficiently ample proportions to suggest the liberal hospitality for which it was known. Leading from the mansion on the right and left are gallerys, or archways, conducting to the offices and to the family kitchen. Through these arches are beautiful views of the river. Along the driveway from the west gate leading to the mansion are groups of noble trees that were planted by Washington himself.

There are traditions of interest associated with some of these trees; as for instance, with the four lofty trees in front of the flower garden gate, where it is said Washington held a conference with Indian chiefs, after the French and Indian War.

On either side, north and south of the bolling green are the walled flower and vegetable gardens. The box bordered beds in the flower gardens were laid out by L'Enfant. In the vegetaable garden are growing today, as in Washington's time, fruits and vegetables, figs, melons, "simlins" and asparagus.

Passing through the main hall, after entering at the west front door, which has the original large brass knockers —you come out upon the east portico, which is about ninety-six feet in length. From this point of vantage you see the most beautiful view on the Potomac. Mount Vernon sits serene on a high elevation that commands the river for many miles north and south. The shores are indented with bays and inlets. Low green levels lie along the river, above which rise bluffs and "mounts" crowned by noble trees. Across the wide river are the picturesque shores of Maryland, and in view on the Virginia side, are old historical places—Belvoir, the seat of Fairfaxes, and Gunston Hall the home of the Masons, lending beauty and interest to the river view.

This sketch would become a guide book in detail, if I attempted to write of the many interesting Washington relics, pictures, books and furniture which the Association has collected and placed in the rooms of the mansion—just where they originally belonged as nearly as possible. I will only mention that the key of the bastille still hangs in the hall, as does the hall lamp. That

the Bible, with the record of Washington's birth is in the library. Nellie Custis' harpsichord and Washington's flute are in the music room; that a portrait by Gilbert Stuart of Washington, hangs in the banquet hall, and the wonderful original bust of Washington, by Houdon, stands in the west parlor.

The work of the Association goes on—and will not be completed until all of the original furnishings of Mount Vernon are once more under the old roof. It has been a work of love for the regents, and in its success is their recompense and reward.

The most wonderful restoration of all is the atmosphere. Visitors at Mount Vernon, who are sensitive to unseen influences, are impressed with the serenity and peace that reigns there. It has an atmosphere of its own that partakes of the calm and equilibrium of colonial days—which has nothing in common with modernism, or the various manifestations of steam and electricity. At Mount Vernon one walks in "the light of other days, and rests in the memories of the past."

There is another restoration which, while it does not come under the jurisdiction of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, is so closely allied to Mount Vernon and the Washingtons, that I feel warranted in speaking of it in connection with Washington's old home. I refer to the restoration of "Pohick," the parish church of Mount Vernon, and the adjacent colonial places on the Potomac. "Pohick," the Indian name of the creek on which it was located, belonged, with two or three other churches, to Truro Parish, of which it is on record that Augustine Washington, the father of George Washington, was a vestryman in 1735.

In 1770 it became necessary to build a larger and more substantial church of brick and stone. Washington, who was then a warden of Pohick church, advised that the site should be changed to a location more central for the whole community. His advice was accepted. Washington furnished the plan for the church, and William Fairfax and George Mason were associated with him on the building committee. The "New Church" was finished in 1773—two years before the Revolutionary War.

It has experienced many vicissitudes, having been on the fighting line in three wars.

In the Civil War it was used as a cavalry post, and suffered much damage.

This old church has been restored by individual members of the Mount Vernon Association, by the Daughters of the American Revolution, and by Colonial Dames.

A committee is now endeavoring to raise an endowment for old Pohick church, which is still the centre of quite a large, though not a wealthy community. An endowment is needed that the services of the church may be conducted in the future, with the dignity, solemnity, and ability which characterized them in colonial days.

Contributions by Daniel Webster to National Government and Law

By Charles Caverno

IT is generally asserted and believed that Daniel Webster was a great man. If you ask in what his greatness consisted you will probably be told that he was a great orator.

If you go further and ask what he *did* that argues greatness you may be left in darkness.

I have one ambition in this article and that is to set forth four things that ought to be as spontaneous to a citizen's thought as that he was a great orator.

We owe to Mr. Webster the settlement of the doctrine in law of the freedom of interstate commerce on the navigable waters within the boundary of the nation. The people of this country have not a very vivid conception of the dangers of war, hid for ninety-two years in a matter figuring in the United States Supreme Court Reports under the title, "Gibbons vs. Ogden," 1821. And yet liabilities of war lay beneath that matter, "Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa."

Let us see.

The State of New York by act of the Legislature gave to Livingston and Fulton the exclusive right of steam navigation in all the waters within the junction of that State. The Legislature of New York by subsequent act declared forfeit to Livingston and Fulton any vessel navigating such waters without their license. Ogden was an assignee of these rights of Livingston and Fulton.

Gibbons, a citizen of New Jersey, registered a steam vessel at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, under United States Laws, and took out a license for the coasting trade. This vessel was seized in New York by virtue of the legislation of that State. There was retaliatory legislation on the part of New Jersey.

But at this point we want to take notice of the fact, that by the laws of war among nations, New Jersey had a right of war against New York for the confiscation of the property of one of her citizens—the steamboat of Gibbons.

New York would doubtless have acquired a right of war against New Jersey under the operation of the retaliatory legislation of that State.

But now while New York declared the forfeiture of every vessel navigating her waters, without licenses from Fulton and Livingston, Connecticut took up the matter and declared forfeit any vessel navigating her waters *with* such license.

It only needed the enforcement of that legislation for New York to acquire a right of war against Connecticut and vice versa.

Nay more if the United States defended the validity of its navigation laws and took Gibbons' vessel by virtue thereof, away from the officials of New York then that State acquired a right of war against the United States.

South Carolina some years afterward—1832—attempted the nullification of the United States revenue laws with no better case in her hands than New York had in this Gibbons and Ogden case in reference to United States navigation laws. South Carolina proposed to replevy goods held by United States officials for revenue duties and to support her sheriff by the armed power of the State—that was war.

But New York had gone a step farther than South Carolina ever got, for she *had taken* the property of Gibbons in spite of the United States navigation laws.

Here lay then, actual or inchoate, according to the law of nations, rights of war between four sovereignties.

The guiding genius out of such dangers was, as matter of fact and history, Mr. Webster. In the case of "Gibbons vs. Ogden" he established the doctrine of the unity of our interstate commerce under United States legislation without interference or hindrance from any State. The nationality of our commerce is the strongest material bond of our Union.

Reflect that not only the legislature but the judiciary of New York through to the last court of appeal went straight to the

edge of the precipice of war. That war was averted is due to the fact that New York, New Jersey and Connecticut had a philosophy of government involving the acceptance of the decisions of the Supreme Court. Had they possessed the nullification spirit of South Carolina, Gibbons vs. Ogden might have been a casus belli rather than the foundation of the law of interstate commerce. The river is older than the road. The raft and the boat antedate the wagon. Fulton went up the Hudson with his steam boat before ever a rail was laid on land. The people of this country by their constitution had decided that the regulation of their commerce should be by the nation and not by the individual states, that transit and transportation should be unlimited except by national control. Commerce came in by navigation and hence when the railway came the law over it was already established by bequest from the law of navigation. But what the constitution had outlived as a principle, the decision of the court in Gibbons vs. Ogden laid down as a tangible rule of law and practice.

It takes only a glance of the eye to see how thoroughly national our railway system is, you can go from Duluth to New Orleans, from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, without knowing where a State boundary is. If you want to know what the case of Gibbons vs. Ogden has given us, you need only to think that at every boundary of every one of our forty-eight States you might be halted and your trunk and satchel searched for something to satisfy the tariff laws of that State. "To that complexion" would nullification bring you "at last."

If you wished to go from New York to Springfield, Massachusetts, you would have three such inspectors to pass. Just look at the railway net work across this nation and think how intolerable such stops and examinatione would be.

Well, what prevents such conditions? The Constitution, "Gibbons vs. Ogden," and Mr. Webster. They are our actual historic forefenders from such unbearable experience. I call attention now to

THE REPLY TO HAYNE

I treat it not so much as a great oration as a contribution to law and government.

George S. Hillard a very great man, contemporary with Mr. Webster and for several terms Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, called it "A Supplementary Constitution." That designation sets forth Mr. Hillard's estimate of its greatness, and puts him in the class with Mr. Gladstone who said, "The Constitution of the United States is the greatest document ever put forth at one time from the mind of man." But just what the reply to Hayne is not a *supplement* to the Constitution. It added nothing to the Constitution—was never intended to add anything to the Constitution. It was an *exposition* of the Constitution and justifies the title which the people have given Mr. Webster as the great

EXPOUNDER

That is just what that oration is—an *explanation* of the Constitution.

It is a remarkable fact—one on which attention should be fastened that Mr. Webster in all his long life, with all his comprehension of law and government *never proposed an amendment to the Constitution.* Not a line to that effect is to be found in his total career.

One of the best designations of Mr. Webster, one that the mass of the people can understand is that he was

AN ENGINEER

The reply to Haynes is to be read, not so much for its rhetoric as for its engineering rules.

When he stepped on the platform of the great debate in Congress in 1830 it was to show that the Constitution was an engine and that a hand *could* be put on the levers that would give guidance to the engine so that it could make a successful run without damage to itself or to any one in the totality of the national life.

That was Mr. Webster's greatness—he was *the master Constitutional Engineer.*

In the reply to Hayne Mr. Webster did no less than to pass his mastery in constitutional theory and practice over to the people—to put in their minds and hearts a theory of national

government on which they have been operating through peace and war—external and internal—until this day. In dynamic outcome in law and government nothing greater than this speech was ever done by man. The reply to Hayne is the third Constitution of the American people to the science of government.

We have in the Declaration of Independence the enunciation of the principal stated by Mr. Lincoln, of "government by the people, for the people,"—in the Constitution a form for the realization of that principle—in the reply to Hayne a demonstration of a working method under that form.

Beside his career as a statesman, lawyer and Constitutionalist, Mr. Webster was one of the first diplomates of his time. I can only glance at a single item of his work in this department. During the negotiation in reference to the treaty of Washington in 1842, Mr. Webster brought into discussion the claim by Great Britain of the right of search and the practice of impressment. Recollect that we went to war with Great Britain on that matter in 1812, and that we came out as we went in—the question still open. What gunpowder did not do in 1812-4, Mr. Webster did do with his forceful logic in 1842-3. Not that, to this day has there been statute or treaty in the case. But since his handling of it, international usage has determined that improvement and the right of search are dead, buried and past resurrection. Mr. Webster is still arbiter on the high seas. They take law from him. The commerce of the globe rides in safety protected by his reason. The wars of the nations halt on lines that he drew.

Now put a few things together. The law regulative of our national commerce by land and water is that of Gibbons vs. Ogden. The adjustment without friction of the machinery of state and nation under the constitution follows the lines of the reply to Hayne. The ships of all nations sail under the protective aegis of Mr. Webster's argument in respect to the rights of neutrals. All these regulations of national and international law, Daniel Webster holds in mortmain—in his deadclutch. No other man today wields a more potent sceptre—and his sceptre is the wand of peace!

Lombard, Ill., July, 1916.

Manufacturing in Sharon

By Lawrence Van Alstyne

PART III

"going to mill in 1777"

A CENTURY ago, a half dozen such large flour mills as are now found in Rochester or many other cities, could have ground wheat enough to have furnished flour for the existing population of the thirteen states. Then, the mills were small structures whose simple machinery was moved by the waters of a mountain stream, or, in dry regions by the wind. Each farmer raised in his own fields enough of each sort of grain to supply his own wants, and some too for market and for the use of the Continental Army.

Of course, it is the aim of all nations at war with each other to cripple the resources of their enemies as much as possible; and in no way can this be more effectually done than by capturing or destroying the provisions, without which the armies must starve.

It is not considered honorable to burn or carry off the crops and stores of the peaceful farmers, or of any not actually in arms, except in case of "strong military necessity." Probably the British officers, during the Revolutionary War, thought this necessity constantly existed; for it was far too often their custom to send out small parties to destroy the country mills, or burn whatever stores of grain or flour they could not carry off for their own use.

Dutchess County, New York, which was then one of the largest wheat growing regions in the country, was mostly within the patriot lines, yet greatly exposed to the ravages of the "Cow Boys." These were a sort of organized banditti, who, under

pretense of loyalty to the crown, robbed as many as they could, and even murdered those who resisted.

The patriots of Westchester and Putnam Counties (the latter was then a part of Dutchess) were the greatest sufferers from these vallains; but they also made frequent excursions through the central and upper parts of Dutchess County, too often pillaged by the many Tories who infested the River Counties, as those bordering on the Hudson were called.

These marauding bands, far more merciless than the regular troops commanded by responsible officers, had, in 1777, succeeded in destroying nearly every gristmill within forty miles of the Hudson. Even those persons who had been so fortunate as to harvest their grain early and hide it from the robber's eye, were often in distress for want of means to convert their wheat and other grains into flour or meal.

One small mill in the town of Sharon, Connecticut, about thirty-five miles east from Poughkeepsie, was so securely hidden away among the rocks and trees, that it ground merrily away during the whole war.

To reach this little mill was neither an easy, nor, during the war, at all times a safe thing to attempt. It was the custom for several of the Dutchess county farmers who could trust each other to agree upon a place for meeting, and an hour for starting on their long journey to the mill. The place chosen was some obscure nook a little distance back from the river. The date was the earliest possible for farmers (who had then no threshing machines) to get their grain threshed. The hour was toward midnight of some dark, but not stormy night, for rain would injure the wheat. Sometimes two or three farmers would club together to fill one wagon or sleigh, taking turns in furnishing horses or oxen to draw it, or a man to drive it. At the hour agreed upon heavily laden teams started on their way as silently as possible, and drove on as fast as the weight of the loads, or the condition of the roads would permit. For the first few miles they kept as closely together as practicable, ready to support each other in case of attack; for each driver had with him a loaded musket for mutual defence. After reaching a distance of twenty miles from the river, the vigilance was relaxed, and

each driver made the best pace he could towards the mill, where the rule of "first come, first served," was rigidly kept.

The roads were not then as well made as now, and it was rarely before late on the next afternoon, that the foremost of the heavily laden wagons creaked their way through the broad old street of Sharon village, on their way to the mill still five miles to the eastward; the last three miles being over a winding road with many long and steep ascents, and a few short, sharp decents, trying to both the wearied men and worn out teams.

It was, and is, a beautiful woodland path. The heavy growths of pine, hemlocks and oaks, which had escaped the autumn fires of the Indians, and the later axe of the settler, yet stood in all their beauty, while the noisy stream leaped in the depths of the ravine which skirted one side of the road as joyfully as if conscious of the good work it had done. It seems even yet to be conscious of this; for though the old forest has long been gone, and the new one is too young to remember about it, the stream seems to keep forever singing.

"I saved them from starving. I did it! I did it! All the good people who came to me from so many miles away. I ground it! I ground it! All the wheat, and the rye, and the buckwheat, and the Indian corn. No one else could, so I did it! I! I!"

I don't know that the teamsters then paid much attention to the chatter of the stream, or, when resting their teams on the top of Ellsworth hill, down the side of which the mill brook dashes on its way to the Housatonic river, cared to look off over the fair valleys of western Connecticut, or eastern New York to the soft blue peaks of the far away Catskills, or to look before them down the steep, tree-covered hillside to the slender gap in the thick growth of trees, which was then the only indication that there flowed the swift Housatonic.

Probably our teamsters thought more of finding the mill in good working order, and not too many customers there ahead of them. It was customary for those who lived within eight or ten miles of the mill to give precedence to the "River men," in consideration of the long way they had to come and go. But besides the men from "Poughkeepsie way," these sometimes

met here long lines of wagons or sleighs from Fishkill, or from Red Hook, or from even higher up the Hudson. So it might be days, and even weeks before the busy little mill, grinding as fast as it could, was able to start our Poughkeepsie men on their homeward way.

On their return trip there was no necessity for the silent midnight gathering; for the mill was too far away from hostilities to render such precautions necessary. The time of departure was usually at day-break, that the time of their arrival at their homes might be in the stillness and darkness of the next night.

During the war, this mill was two or three times sought for by parties of armed Tories from the River counties; but so wild was the way to it, so hidden the mill among the rocks and trees, and so faithful those who could have betrayed it, that it was not discovered, though a band of its enemies once passed within a half mile of it, and might, perhaps, have heard its clattering machinery, but for the rushing of the wind through the pine trees and the dashing of the brook in the ravine through which it flowed.

At the time the above was written, it was not known where this old mill stood. An inquiry went out asking for information of its site, and was answered by Mr. Giles Skiff, in an article he wrote for the Connecticut Western, some years ago. I quote from it the following:

"Much has been said and written about the old mill, but just where it was, is not as well known. It is the purpose of this brief sketch to point out the spot on which it stood. About two miles from Cornwall Bridge, on the main road, in the ravine where the brook is still hurrying along its noisy way, there are to be seen the foundation stones of some building, and of a race dam, and this without doubt is the very place where the grinding was done during the trying times of the Revolution.

"The Old Mill, which did such good service then, is now a thing of the past. The heavy growth of pine and hemlock and oak which helped to conceal it have long since been cut away, but a younger growth has done much to preserve the charm of this beautiful woodland road. Should the traveller passing over this route, pause to ask 'what mean these stones,' he might easily imagine the stream, as if conscious of the good work it

had done making answer. It was here I saved them from starving—I did it, I did it. All the good people who came to me from so many miles away—I ground it, all the wheat and the rye, the buckwheat and the Indian corn. No one else could, so I did it, I did it."

A suggestion for the Poconnuck Historical Society.

It is said that one of the mill-stones used in this historic mill is still there, probably lying where it fell when the mill tumbled down. That silent witness should be made to tell of the good work it did, by being placed beside the road, with a suitably inscribed tablet upon its face.

Acting on the above suggestion the Poconnuck Historical Society purchased from the "Monumental Bronze Company" of Bridgeport, Conn., a tablet on which was inscribed a condensed history of the past usefulness of the above mentioned historic mill.

On account of weather conditions the old mill-stone was allowed to slumber undisturbed in its lowly resting place until June of the next year, 1913, when it was raised to a level with the highway and upon an enduring foundation, made from the very stones which had supported the mill, it was placed facing the road, and upon its furrowed face the tablet was bolted fast.

The story it never tires of repeating to passers by, is as follows:

THE POCONNUCK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF SHARON, CONN.,
HAS PLACED THIS TABLET UPON ONE OF THE MILL STONES USED IN A GRIST MILL STANDING HERE—THE ONLY MILL BETWEEN THIS PLACE AND THE HUDSON RIVER TO ESCAPE DESTRUCTION AT THE HANDS OF ROVING BANDS OF TORIES WHICH INFESTED THE COUNTRY DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. THIS LITTLE MILL IMPARTIALLY GROUND FOR ALL WHO CAME—MANY OF THEM FROM THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY, SOME 40 MILES AWAY. IT WAS

LOOKED FOR, BUT NEVER FOUND BY ITS ENEMIES, AND SO GROUND MERRILY AWAY DURING THE WHOLE WAR.

1912

Other interesting items that were found too late to incorporate in the paper, "Manufacturing in Sharon" are as follows:

In *The Poughkeepsie Telegraph and Observer,* under date of March 11th, 1829, the following appears:

"Jonathan Penoyer, living about a mile and a half west from Sharon Valley, has for sale one acre of land in Sharon Valley having on it a house and Tan Vats, with all buildings necessary for carrying on the Tanning, Currying and Shoemaking business."

NOTE.—This place was afterwards known as "The Boarding House," while the Blast Furnace at Sharon Valley was in operation, and is still standing. It has had several owners, and is now the property of Thomas Johnson.

Another issue of the same paper, under date of April 30, 1823, says: "The Poughkeepsie and Sharon Stage has commenced running regularly for the season. The Stage will leave Poughkeepsie every Wednesday and Sunday at eight o'clock A. M. from Van Kleeks Hotel, corner of Washington and Mill streets. Returning will leave Sharon on Tuesday and Friday mornings at eight o'clock A. M. For seats apply to L. B. Van Kleek in Poughkeepsie."

In Hinman's Collections of the Revolutionary War, it is stated that the General Assembly, held in Hartford, May and June, 1777, passed a resolution that "A premium of ten pounds, thirteen shillings and six pence be paid Elijah Calkins, of Sharon, on two hundred and thirteen pounds of salt petre manufactured by him before the first of January, 1777."

Sedgwick's History of Sharon, under date of April 24, 1800, says: "We have one Printer and one press, introduced this spring in April. About five hundred copies are printed weekly —title of paper, Rural Gazette, printed by Elliott Hopkins. Size of paper between that of Hartford and Litchfield. (Prob-

ably the Hartford Courant and the Litchfield Enquirer were meant).

Relics of two ancient brick yards have been brought to my attention since the paper was written. One in Dr. Kerley's meadow, a little west from the Stone Bridge, and the other on Geo. H. Smith's land on the Lakeville road, opposite the home of Frank Rhynuss. From the latter the brick for the Capt. Weed house were taken, and doubtless the first furnished the brick for the Pardee House, as it was then on the Pardee land.

The following advertisement from the Amenia Times of June 8th, 1853, will be of interest to Sharonites:

"The subscriber has on hand and for sale at his nursery in Sharon, from eighty to one hundred varieties of Dahlias of all colors—most of them lately imported. Those who desire to ornament their yards and gardens with this beautiful flower, will here find a rare opportunity. Price per dozen, from twelve to eighteen shillings.

George W. Gager."

Mr. Gilbert L. Smith, since deceased, gave me the following interesting item of Sharon history:

A tavern, called the "Old Red Tavern," stood in the corner made by the Town Street and the road passing the "Herrick Place."

It stood a little back from the road, and had two large Elm trees in its front. The stump of one of these trees has only lately been removed. A Wagon Maker's Shop and a Blacksmith Shop stood a little north from the tavern, in a grove south of the Gov. Smith house. The wagon shop was finally moved to the Robert Smith place, now Miss Wheeler's, where it did duty as a barn and stable until Miss Wheeler had it moved to higher ground for a like purpose. The Smith carriage house stood where Miss Wheeler now has a rose garden. This Mr. Smith removed to a point west from the Old Red Tavern site, and made it into the house now occupied by Mr. Decker.

Historic Views and Reviews

YEAR BOOK OF THE EMPIRE STATE SOCIETY, S. A. R., 1915-1916

THE RETIREMENT OF JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M. LL.B., AFTER BEING FOR EIGHT YEARS HISTORIAN OF THE EMPIRE STATE SOCIETY, S. A. R.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Board of Managers of the Empire State Society, S. A. R., held on Friday, April 7, 1916, the following Resolution was presented by compatriot John H. Burroughs and was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Compatriot Josiah C. Pumpelly, A. M. LL.B., a long time member of the Empire State Society, S. A. R., having served the Society for the past eight years as its Historian, giving his time ungrudgingly to its interests and to the cause of patriotism, faithfully attending the meetings of the Board of Managers, contributing to the publications of the Society articles of great interest, bristling with the true spirit of loyalty and devotion to our country, is soon to place his mantle of responsibility as Historian on the shoulders of another compatriot; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Board of Managers, do at this time express to him our appreciation of his sincere and faithful service to the Society and hope that his interest in the work of our organization may continue, the interest of a patriotic descendant of patriotic sires.

The following letter from compatriot Pumpelly was read at the meeting of the Society held on April 18, 1916:

April 17, 1916.

Dear Compatriot Burroughs,

I greatly regret that confinement to the house by illness will prevent my meeting with my fellow compatriots tomorrow at our annual meeting. Please express to them my regrets, also

my thanks for the honor they did me in electing me eight times as their Historian, an honor that will help to deepen my Americanism and cheer my soul in this late afternoon of my life. Also give my hearty congratulations and best wishes to my successor Compatriot Wickes who, I feel assured, will honor the position by his tried experience far more than I could ever have done.

If our esteemed President talks across the Continent to our Compatriots in California, tell him to say one of the two surviving founders of the S. A. R., sends his congratulations and hearty greetings with the pledge of heart and hand to "America first" now and forever as the guardian of National liberty and human rights and the priceless ideals of our heroic ancestors!

Patriotism means Preparedness and with America's 21 Republics and a united S. A. R., and the spirit of the Declaration of Independence in our hearts, we stand as a mighty fortress in defence of those principles of Right government and Humanity for which our forefathers fought and which are the basis of all true civilization!

It is the open "door of destiny" for America and our beloved S. A. R. which meets in National Congress soon. May God grant its members clearness and breadth of vision and a virility of patriotism that shall give vigor and wisdom to all their deliberations and declarations.

With sentiments of the highest esteem, I am, my dear Compatriots,

Yours fraternally,

JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY.

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JANUARY, 1916 No. 1

Americana

Illustrated

National Americana Society
131 East Twenty-Third St
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